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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LABOR UNIONS—PART 1

(Local 601, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers
of America, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

U.S. Congress, House

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

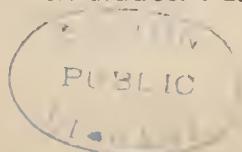
AUGUST 9, 10, AND 11, 1949

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1949

95613



X 93374 A 100
U. S. SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LABOR UNIONS—PART 1

(Local 601, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers
of America, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, and John McSweeney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order, please.

The record will disclose that Mr. Walter, Mr. McSweeney, and Mr. Wood are present.

Mr. Attorney, do you have something this morning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this hearing is to inquire into the question of Communist affiliation or association of certain members of Local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, which is engaged in work at industrial plants important to the national defense.

The advisability of recommending legislation providing for security standards, and the advisability of tightening present security requirements in industrial plants working on certain Government contracts, was considered by the committee in both its open and executive sessions on June 6, 1949, as a result of the testimony of Leona and Joseph Franey and Loren G. Haas.

It will be remembered that Mr. Wood, the chairman of this committee, offered H. R. 3903, section 2 of which would make it an offense for any individual employed in connection with the performance of any national defense contract "(1) to become or remain a member of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party of the United States of America, or any organization which shall have been designated as subversive by the Attorney General; (2) to contribute funds or services to the Communist Party of the United States of America or to any organization which shall have been designated as subversive by the Attorney

General; or (3) to advise, counsel, or urge any other individual employed in connection with the performance of any national defense contract to perform, or to omit to perform, any act if such act or omission would constitute a violation of clause (1) or (2) of this section." This bill was referred to this committee.

It is the further purpose of this hearing to develop facts for the committee's consideration in connection with this resolution.

I desire to call as the first witness, Mr. Russell.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Russell, will you hold up your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name?

Mr. RUSSELL. Louis J. Russell.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show Mr. Harrison is here.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity are you employed by this committee?

Mr. RUSSELL. As senior investigator.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. RUSSELL. Since May 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time, where were you employed?

Mr. RUSSELL. By the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell, in the course of your investigations, did you ascertain that the Atomic Energy Commission had issued an order relative to loyalty in certain labor unions engaged in classified atomic energy work?

Mr. RUSSELL. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have before you the letter of the Atomic Energy Commission of November 1, 1948, addressed to Mr. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric Co.?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. The letter, dated November 1, 1948, is addressed to Mr. Charles E. Wilson, president, General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue at Fifty-first Street, New York 22, N. Y.

DEAR MR. WILSON: Under date of September 27, 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission directed that the General Electric Co. not recognize the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO (UE), as the bargaining representative of any persons to be employed by it at the new Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, Schenectady, N. Y. This direction was based upon information concerning alleged Communist affiliation or association of various officers of UE. The positions occupied within UE by these officers are such that they exercise administrative, negotiating, or disciplinary authority within the union over General Electric Co. employees engaged at other atomic energy facilities at Schenectady where UE is the recognized bargaining agent.

This information when taken together with the failure of these officers to file non-Communist affidavits under the Labor Management Relations Act, led the Commission to conclude that there is a very serious question as to whether representation of atomic energy workers at Schenectady by a union in which such officers occupied important positions is consistent with that full and unqualified adherence and loyalty to the interests of the United States that the security of the Nation and the policy of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 require.

Under dates of October 6 and October 22, 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission

wrote Mr. Albert J. Fitzgerald, general president of the UE, in connection with the Commission's direction to the General Electric Co. The Commission concluded, however, that unless this very serious question should be cleared up satisfactorily the Commission intended to take such further steps as may be necessary to assure that these officers do not exercise administrative, negotiating or disciplinary authority over General Electric Co. employees engaged in atomic energy work, at Schenectady. The Commission offered the officers of UE every opportunity to participate in a fuller exploration of this issue.

On October 26, 1948, Mr. Fitzgerald replied to the Commission's letters of October 6 and 22, 1948. From this reply it appears that the officers of UE do not intend to avail themselves of this proffered opportunity to participate in a fuller exploration of this question. In particular it appears that the officers do not intend to answer questions or submit facts concerning their loyalty and their associations with Communist Party organizations, as in our view they must do, in their capacity of officers of unions who have wide authority over atomic energy activity personnel.

Accordingly the Atomic Energy Commission now directs that General Electric Co. withdraw and withhold recognition from the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, in respect to any employees of General Electric Co. engaged on work at AEC-owned or AEC-leased installations in the Schenectady area or engaged on atomic work which is defined as classified by the Atomic Energy Commission and being performed by the General Electric Co.

A reappraisal of the situation will be made within a reasonable period of time after you have taken the necessary action to comply with this directive. You will thereafter be advised as to any further steps that may be necessary.

We wish to emphasize that this action, while made necessary by this refusal of these particular union officers to accept obligations as to loyalty investigations (which their own members engaged in classified atomic energy work have all accepted), is in no wise a reflection on the membership of this union, employees of your company, who have been investigated and cleared. Further, we take this opportunity again to make it clear that the Commission does not object to General Electric Co. extending recognition as bargaining agent for atomic energy workers to any labor organization whose officers have met the requisite standards in respect to full and unqualified adherence and loyalty to the interests of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION.
DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, *Chairman.*

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell, are you familiar with the magazine known as *New Times*?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is that magazine published?

Mr. RUSSELL. In Moscow.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it a Communist organ?

Mr. RUSSELL. It is. It is an international organ of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the action of the Atomic Energy Commission reported to this international organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, it was. In the issue of January 1, 1949, volume 1, of *New Times*, which is published by the newspaper *Trud* in Moscow, there is contained an article on page 30 which refers to "The American Electrical Workers' Union and its enemies." The article states, in the first paragraph:

Julius Emspak, general secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, a Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliate, has sent us—and other publications—a copy of a letter which his union some time ago addressed to David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. In the covering message Mr. Emspak writes:

Do you want me to read the letter?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I will not ask you to read the letter, but I will ask you to state whether or not this organ of the Communist Party

upheld Mr. Emspak in his objection to the order of the Atomic Energy Commision?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, it did. The last sentence of the article states:

* * * the activities of the UE and the stand taken by its officers are proof that the course now pursued by the right wing A. F. of L. and CIO leaders does not correspond to the needs, interests, and sentiments of the trade union rank and file.

Mr. TAVENNER. With regard to the stand taken by the CIO labor union at that time in regard to the order which you read, was that the subject of litigation? That is, did the CIO contest in the courts the legality of the directive of the Atomic Energy Commission with regard to loyalty?

Mr. RUSSELL. Not the CIO; the UE did. They filed suit in the District of Columbia, and in a ruling issued by F. Dickinson Letts, judge, it was stated:

The action of AEC of which the plaintiffs complained was authorized by the Atomic Energy Act; the court lacks jurisdiction over the subject matter of the action in that the complainant seeks to control executive action committed by law to the discretion of the AEC, and this court will not interfere with the exercise of such discretion; the complaint contains no sufficient allegation that the action of the AEC, complained of, was arbitrary, capricious, or an abuse of discretion; no substantial constitutional question is presented; the Administrative Procedure Act is not applicable to the case.

Counsel for defendants will submit appropriate orders dismissing the complaint.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date of that order?

Mr. RUSSELL. April 25, 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence the letter of November 1, 1948, read by Mr. Russell, mark it "Exhibit Russell 1"; the issue of New York Times of January 1, 1949, mark it "Exhibit Russell 2"; and the decision of the court which was read, and mark it "Exhibit Russell 3."¹

Mr. Wood. Without objection they will be admitted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell, the order of the Atomic Energy Commission was directed to the General Electric Co.?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what industrial plant is the union, local 601, associated?

Mr. RUSSELL. Westinghouse Electrical Manufacturing Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it engaged, to your knowledge, in work for defense projects at this time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Not at the present time, to my knowledge, but it has been engaged in defense projects in the past and has performed work for the Atomic Energy Commission.

I would like to bring out the fact that statements have been issued that these hearings were hastily arranged without committee consent. I think the record should show that this local 601 was first investigated in 1946. I personally conducted that investigation and made a report which is in the files of this committee. The present investigation was instituted in April, and three of the witnesses who will appear this morning were contacted by Investigator Alvin Stokes. He submitted a report, contained in the files of this committee, and on the basis of information contained in that report these hearings were set up.

¹ See appendix, p. 650, Exhibits Russell 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that April 1949?

Mr. RUSSELL. April 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. As a matter of fact, back in April this phase of the inquiry was in connection with evidence developed concerning the Buffalo situation, was it not?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. McSWEENEY. No questions.

Mr. Wood. The investigation of this local conducted in 1946, Mr. Russell, was a rather intensive investigation and was under your supervision?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. And there was a report filed with this committee in connection with that investigation at that time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before hearing testimony of the officers and members of local 601 I desire to offer, as general background material, the testimony of Mr. Joseph Zack Kornfeder, who will describe the operations of the Communist International of Moscow over a broad field of activity, including that of labor unions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Kornfeder, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I do.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat and give the reporter your name and present address and identification.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER

Mr. KORNFEDER. Mr. name is Joseph Zack Kornfeder. My address is 3210 Book Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kornfeder, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A.?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have been a member of the Communist Party, from 1919 until 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what name were you a member?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was known in the party under the name of Joseph Zack.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you account for the fact that you used the name Joseph Zack?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I used the name Joseph Zack in a legal sense; that was the maiden name of my mother.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held in the Communist Party, U. S. A.?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I started as the branch organizer in New York City; and then became a section organizer of the Communist Party in New York City for Yorkville and Harlem; and then became a sub-district organizer, the subdistrict at that time including a part of New York City and upper New Jersey; and then became district

organizer of the Communist Party, New York City, which covered New York State, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

Then I became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and the director of labor-union activities of the Communist Party on a national scale; and later on, on a limited scale, in the East and in Ohio and Kentucky.

Then I was sent to Moscow for further training in the arts of organization and political warfare in 1927, and remained in Moscow until April or May 1930. During my stay in Moscow I was a member of the Anglo-American secretariat of the Communist International for a period of nearly 2 years, and was a member of the same type of secretariat of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Upon completing my studies in the Lenin School and my activities at the headquarters of the Communist International I was sent as a representative of the Communist International to South America, and stayed there from about June 1930 until October 1931, being in charge of the Communist Party of Colombia and Venezuela.

Upon my return toward the end of 1931, I was placed in charge again of the Communist Party's labor-union activities in the eastern area, and also in charge of the party's activities among the unemployed in the same area.

I became a member of the district committee, New York district, of the Communist Party, and later on was transferred for the same type of activities to Ohio, with headquarters in Cleveland. I remained in charge of these activities until about May or June 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever written for the Communist press, or have you been referred to officially in the Communist press?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you copies of four issues of the Daily Worker. Will you examine them and state to what they refer?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Exhibit No. 1—

Mr. TAVENNER. Suppose I introduce that issue of the Worker, bearing date April 7, 1923, in evidence, and have it marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 1."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.²

Mr. KORNFEDER. This was an article in the Worker, which was the predecessor of the Daily Worker. The Worker at that time was a weekly. This was an article by Earl Browder, at that time associate editor of the Labor Herald, a special monthly publication of the Trade Union Educational League. I am mentioned there as secretary of the International Committee of the Needle Trades Section, TUEL which I was at that time. The Trade Union Educational League was the first big effort of the Communist Party to infiltrate American labor unions, especially the American Federation of Labor and railroad brotherhoods.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now wish to offer in evidence a copy of two pages of the May 14, 1927, issue of the Daily Worker, and mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 2," and ask you to state to the committee the nature of the article contained on those two pages.

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.³

Mr. KORNFEDER. In this issue an article appears by Joseph Zack, which is myself, on the subject of The New Open Shop Drive.

² See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 1.

³ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then did you write an additional article which appears in the May 28, 1927, issue of the Daily Worker?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. This was an article in two series on the Communist politics at that time in the labor-union field, in which I had a part.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that paper in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 3."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you refer to the September 6, 1927, issue of the Daily Worker and state what appears on page 5 of that issue?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In this issue of the Daily Worker there appears a portrait sketch of myself as a delegate to the convention of the Workers Party. The Workers Party was then the name of the Communist Party. The reason they called themselves the Workers Party is that a few years previously the party had been underground, and they decreed a legal party in the open and called it the Workers Party of America, and I was a delegate to one of the conventions of this Workers Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that paper in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 4."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, in order to further identify the witness, I desire to read into the record at this point the statement of Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, May 12, 1929, as published in the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, volume 11, page 7127:

I tell Comrade Foster quite plainly that anyone who advises him to go on with the factional strife, be he ever so much a good friend of his, is rendering him a very bad service, whether it be Comrade Bittelman, Comrade Zack, Comrade Browder, or anyone else.

I desire to introduce in evidence the statement which I have just read, and mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 5."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now a pamphlet entitled "The Communist" and ask you what it contains on pages 67 to 80?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The Communist was then the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the United States, published monthly.

Mr. Wood. What date is that?

Mr. KORNFEDER. January 1930. There appears an article written by me the title of which is Against the Labor Party (Militant Reformism) in the U. S. A. This article was written by me in Moscow on the basis of a study of material and information available to me in Moscow through the Comintern, and was ordered published by the American Communist Party by the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist International.

Mr. TAVENNER. What led up to your writing the article?

Mr. KORNFEDER. At that time there was an opinion in certain circles of the American Communist Party, and also discussions on this subject in the leading committees of the Communist International, as to whether the Communist Party in the United States should favor the setting up of a labor party. The decision at that time was that a labor party would be a reformist party, and since the Communist International

⁴ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 3.

⁵ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 4.

⁶ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 5.

is in reality against all reforms in capitalist countries, because they consider them an impediment to their objectives, I was ordered to write an article on this subject against the theory and proposed strategy of organizing a labor party by using the organization of the Communist Party as a background for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom, or by what group, were you ordered to write that article?

Mr. KORNFEDER. By the then head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist International.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that document in evidence, mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 6."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now another article appearing in The Communist of March 1930, and ask if you wrote that article?

Mr. KORNFEDER. This article is entitled The Era of Partners and is a review of the American Federationist, official organ of the American Federation of Labor, and a review of decisions of the 1929 convention of the American Federation of Labor. This article was also written on the basis of material available at Communist International headquarters in Moscow, to which I had access, and first appeared in the official organ of the Communist International.

Mr. Wood. Was it also written by you in Moscow?

Mr. KORNFEDER. It was written by me while I was in Moscow, and was ordered printed here in the United States in the Communist, the monthly organ of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 7."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you another issue of the Communist, of July 1932, containing an article entitled "Place the Party on a War Footing" by Earl Browder, and on page 601 appears this language:

Comrade Zack gave us a very rich and fruitful discussion and demonstrated again in his speech that he is one of our most reliable and productive workers—an essential part of the leadership of the party.

Will you identify that as an article written by Browder?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I remember this article and I also remember the report Browder made at that time to the meetings of the central committee and the district convention, at both of which I was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that paper in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Kornfeder 8."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you four more photostatic copies of articles written by you and by others. Will you examine them and merely identify them, and we will place them in the record?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The one entitled "The Trade Unions in New York and the Unemployed" which appeared in the Daily Worker of March 1, 1933, was the summary of a report that I made as general secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council, which was the Communist Party's labor-union front in New York City. It just contains a summary of the problems that in my view were then faced by the Communists in the activities in that area, both in labor union and unemployed fields.

⁷ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 6.

⁸ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 7.

⁹ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 8.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that article in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 9."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹⁰

Mr. KORNFEDER. The next one relates to a trade-union conference for united action, which is in the form of an appeal to all American Federation of Labor unions, central labor bodies, railroad brotherhoods, lodges, independent trade-unions, and unemployed organizations, and pertains to a conference then engineered through the initiative of the Communist Party, and I was a cosigner of the call for this conference, in the capacity of secretary of the Council of Industrial Unions, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 10."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹¹

Mr. KORNFEDER. The next one appears in the Communist of February 1934, the Communist being the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party. This article, by myself, is entitled "How to Apply the Open Letter" and is a discussion of techniques and methods of operation and criticism of same in connection with the activities of labor unions and among the unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 11."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹²

Mr. TAVENNER. You refer to the Open Letter. What is meant by the open letter?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The Open Letter was a new directive of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States, in which the Communist Party of the United States was criticized for mistakes and shortcomings and so on, and was directed to change its methods and techniques in various fields in order to conform with the line of the Communist International.

Next is an article in the Communist of April 1934, by myself. The title is, "The Line Is Correct, To Realize it Organizationally Is the Central Problem." I open up the discussion with the then current or proposed line of policy of the American Communist Party in the labor-union field. It is this presentation of disagreement which later on directly led to my leaving the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Kornfeder 12."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹³

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, rather than ask questions and solicit answers, I believe it would expedite the hearing if the witness would read a prepared statement which we have asked him to make regarding the operations of the International Communist Party.

Mr. Wood. Is that the statement a copy of which is on the desk?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Very well. You may proceed.

Mr. KORNFEDER. I may interpolate some additional explanations as I go along, if that is agreeable to the committee.

¹⁰ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 9.

¹¹ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 10.

¹² See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 11.

¹³ See appendix, p. 650, Kornfeder exhibit 12.

Mr. WOOD. That is quite all right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I might add if the members of the committee desire to ask any questions during the course of the reading, not to hesitate to do so.

Mr. HARRISON. Does this statement give the circumstances under which you ceased to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; it does not, but I expect that members of the committee will ask me that question.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Does it mention your war service? You served in the First World War?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was in the Second World War.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. That is a Legion button you are wearing?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. You took the oath of allegiance at that time, did you not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I did.

HOW JOSEPH STALIN RUNS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The program and objectives of the international Communist movement have been laid down in the resolutions, theses, and decisions of the various congresses of the Communist International and in the writings of Nicolai Lenin, the founder and organizer of this insurrectionary organization known as the Communist International and its affiliated parties.

All of these resolutions and decisions, as well as the writings of Lenin and Stalin, definitely set forth the necessity and advisability of overthrowing all non-Communist governments and the social structure upon which our present-day democratic system is founded, by force and violence, and advocate the use of any and all means to achieve that objective.

The Communist International organization and its affiliated parties are built with that perspective. They are not political parties in the accepted democratic sense. They are parties of destruction of the democratic system and, for that reason, their organizational structure, methods, and ways of doing things are entirely different.

May I at this point quote from a pamphlet in German written by Ossip Piatnitzky, the head of the Organization Conference of the Communist International in Moscow in 1925. In this pamphlet, in paragraph 10, relating to the organization structure of affiliated Communist Parties, he says the following:

In reference to organization forms to be pursued by the affiliated parties of the entire world—the difference between Communist Parties and other parties such as the Social Democratic Party is that the latter are only electioneering machines to gather votes. For that reason, this type of parties are organized on the basis of the election districts where voters reside.

The Communist Parties, on the other hand, have as their objective the organization of an active fight against capitalism and the governments upon which capitalism is based. Our function is to organize in such a fashion that we can take over the entire production and state machinery of capitalist society. For that reason, the main basis, the very foundation, of our party organization must be based on factories, industrial enterprises, mines, shops, offices, commercial enterprises, etc., where workers and employees work.

Election to Parliament or municipal councils, etc., for us is only a means for additional propaganda to diffuse our ideas along the broader lines of Communist polities.

Mr. WALTER. By whom is that written?

Mr. KORNFEDER. By Ossip Piatnitzky.

Mr. WALTER. When?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In 1925, right at the foundation of the Communist movement, this basis has been laid down.

Now I will quote you further in substantiation of this difference an excerpt from a speech made by Stalin at the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 14, 1929, as to the concept of the type of organization as exists in their minds and is operated in the form of Communist Parties:

Soon the earth will be too hot for world capitalism. The task of the Communist Parties is to begin right now with the development of mass preparatory work for the combats to come. The struggle against reformation, the struggle for the forging of genuine revolutionary cadres and for the selection of genuine revolutionary party leaders, people capable of going to war and leading the masses with them, people who will not retreat before the storm and will not be panic-stricken, but will face that storm.

This speech was made by Stalin in connection with the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States, which were then under discussion in Moscow in connection with the faction fight then raging in the Communist Party of the United States.

I may also quote, in this connection, point 3 of the Twenty-one Conditions of Affiliation with the Communist International, which every Communist Party, in order to be a part of the Moscow set-up, has to accept and practice. Point 3 says as follows:

The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois law. They must everywhere create a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment could assist the party in performing its duty to the revolution.

Then point 14 of the same Twenty-one Conditions of Affiliation says the following:

Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must give every possible support to the Soviet Republic in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties must carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of Soviet Russia, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops which are sent to fight the Soviet Republic, etc.

These quotations are to illustrate the different character of party organization inherent in the Communist Party and all its practices as compared with other party organizations. There is much more along these lines that I could quote from all the principal leaders of the Communist International, past and present, including Stalin and Molotov.

On the basis of this concept of organization, every Communist Party engages in concealed or underground activities, even though the party, as such, is permitted to operate in the open. Every party is duty bound to infiltrate and create secret organizations in the armed forces of its own country. Every party must engage in secret infiltration in Government departments of enemy countries. Every country not controlled by Moscow is considered an enemy. Every party is obliged to infiltrate labor unions and use them for economic and political warfare against the enemy countries.

Every party is obliged to set up a separate organization for activities among the youth in order to alienate the youth's loyalty from

his own country. Every party is obliged to systematically and deliberately support the Soviet Union in all of its policies up to the point of civil strife and insurrectionary activities in case of war against Soviet Russia. Every party is duty bound to prepare itself for insurrectionary activities for the day when the overthrow of the existing government and society will be deemed opportune and timely.

I shall later on say some more about the training for insurrectionary activity which is received in the special training colleges in Moscow.

These are only some of the activities and corresponding organizational set-ups which illustrate that the organizational structure of the international Communist movement and its affiliated parties correspond to its objectives of overthrowing governments and the social structure upon which they are founded. In short, the Communist Party's organizational structure and activities reveal more than anything else that may be said its true character.

I will now proceed to explain how this whole world-wide organization is operated and controlled from its Moscow headquarters. My description of its methods of operation are based on my stay at the Moscow headquarters of the Communist International from 1927 until 1930, during which time I was associated with the operations of the Communist International as a member of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Communist International and of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Red International of Labor Unions, and hence had the opportunity to learn first hand how the Communist International works.

THE ROLE OF STALIN

To start with I must say a few words about the personal role of Stalin in this set-up.

Joseph Stalin, dictator of Russia, has since 1928 been the political czar of the international Communist movement. No decision on major aspects of policy or organizational operation could be made effective without his initiative or consent. Stalin personally has been in charge of Communist operations in areas of major importance, such as China, since 1926, and Germany since 1928, and there is no doubt in my mind that since the United States and Britain have become now of major interest, nothing of consequence in those countries can pass, as far as the Communist movement is concerned, without Stalin's initiative and consent.

It is as a result of the experiences that Stalin had in connection with the Chinese situation that Stalin, at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 in Moscow, introduced a new formula, a new concept of strategy as to the operation of Communist parties in backward countries. In the thesis presented at that congress relating to problems in colonial countries, Stalin set up the concept that in colonial countries it is not the workers that should be the basis of Communist organizations, but the peasants; that the peasants, that is, the farm population, are the true basis of colonial revolution. And on the basis of that new concept the entire conquest of China has been built. Prior to that time the concept was that the workers are the only basis for the organization of Communist movements.

As a result of this change of policy, the Communist Party of China developed very much activity specially designed for effect among

the peasants of China. It appears that as a result of this change of policy many people in the United States have been led to misunderstand the entire China situation and to conclude that the Communists in China are merely agrarian reformists, whereas they were following from the beginning the decision of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, which bases the movement in this type of countries not upon the workers, but upon the peasants; and naturally, in order to make headway on the basis of this kind of policy, they had to set up attractive demands and formulas in order to organize the Chinese peasants for their purposes.

It may sound incredible that the dictator of a large country can find time to preoccupy himself seriously with the affairs of so many other countries and keep a tight rein on the activities of Communists in several countries of special interest at the same time. The fact is, however, that even while Stalin was personally in charge of Communist affairs in China and Germany, he found time to preoccupy himself quite extensively with the affairs of the United States of America, which, from a long-range point of view, he even then considered as the major and ultimate enemy. It was his as well as Lenin's concept that capitalism on this earth and democracy will not be done away with until the United States is conquered.

My knowledge of his preoccupation with the United States, even in those years, is based on the role I then played in the affairs of the American Communist Party. As a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, USA, I represented in Moscow what then was known as the Foster faction. As a representative of that faction, which was favored by Stalin, I had the opportunity of meeting Stalin, Molotov, Manuilsky (present representative of Ukraine at the UN), and other leaders of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The reason why Stalin, as well as Molotov and other leaders of the Russian Communist Party, spent that much time on this faction fight in the United States, was because Stalin, considering this country of utmost importance in the total scheme of strategy, wanted to retain a reliable base by securing control, absolute control, for his faction of the Communist Party of the United States. He was then looking far ahead when he spent that much time on the faction fight in the American Communist Party.

Stalin personally directed all the major phases of the fight against the then majority of the American Communist Party, led by Jay Lovestone, who was considered anti-Stalinist. The instructions from Stalin in this fight were usually transmitted to me through Losovsky, then head of the Red International of Labor Unions, and occasionally also through Manuilsky, Piatnitzky, and others.

In this fight, Stalin was willing, if necessary, to spend as much as a million dollars out of the Russian Treasury to defeat the Lovestone faction in the American Communist Party and retain control of that party for himself. In the wind-up of that fight, he and Molotov even participated as members of the commission that tried Lovestone and other members of the central committee of the American Communist Party siding with Lovestone, and he made a speech on the affairs of the American Communist Party which, in expurgated form, has been published and should be available for the record.

Now, to give you an idea how possessive Stalin and Molotov felt it necessary to be in regard to the Communist Party of the United States, I will make a few quotations from their speeches in reference to the situation in the American Communist Party at that time.

This was marked "confidential," to be used only for the minutes of the Communist International. The speech was made at the Presidium on May 14, 1929. Stalin speaking, I quote:

If the comrades of the American delegation accept our terms—good and well; if they don't, so much the worse for them. The Comintern will take its own under any circumstances. You can be sure of that, dear comrades.

Another part of his speech on the same occasion says:

Do you think that the American Communists will follow you against the Comintern? The history of the Comintern knows a series of instances, when popular leaders, more popular than you are, became isolated just as soon as they raised their banner of revolt against the Comintern. Do you think that you will be luckier than those leaders? No hopes, comrades. Now you will still have a formal majority. But tomorrow there will be no majority for you, and you, and you will be hopelessly isolated if you try to fight against the decisions of the Presidium of the Communist International.

I remember this scene very well. I was present during all the sessions at Comintern headquarters that took place at that time. It was one of the rare moments when Stalin completely lost self-control. He was goaded into intolerance—I mean open manifestation of intolerance—by some of the speeches that were made there by the leaders of the American Communist Party, like Benjamin Gitlow, and as a result he really let fly. I remember parts that are not in the transcript, where he said, pointing at Gitlow and Lovestone: "After I get through with you, all you will have left will be your wives and your sweethearts."

Here is another part which shows their intense interest in retaining control, even of the then relatively small organization that existed in the United States. I quote from Stalin:

Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman must be recalled and placed at the disposal of the Comintern so that the leaders of the American Communist Party may realize at last that the Comintern is in real earnest about combating factionalism.

I call your attention to the concept that they must be recalled. In other words, these two, who were leaders of the American Communist Party, are in this concept not considered as leaders of the American Communist Party, but they are considered as instruments designated by Moscow to perform a certain function, and whenever Moscow wants to eliminate them from that function, they recall them back to Moscow. This was a concept previously not existent.

Before I proceed I may at this time, in connection with this fight, also introduce parts of the speech of Molotov, who attended all the discussions and followed Stalin. I quote:

Comrades, I have very little to add to what Comrade Stalin has said.

I may interpolate he always has very little to add after Stalin speaks. [Continuing reading:]

I fully agree with his estimate of the situation in the American party and his estimate of the various sections of that party.

I may say at this point that Molotov, for 6 months prior to this occasion, had been directly in charge of the affairs of the American

Communist Party at Communist International headquarters. He had two parties under his direction at that time, the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of France. I continue:

What we have in America now is unreliable and unsound. A ruthless struggle is necessary for Comintern principles; persistent work must be conducted for the ideological consolidation of the party.

The Comintern would be no Comintern if it were not to effect at the present time a decisive change in the struggle against factionalism in the American party. The struggle against factionalism now, in the present phase, must be different from what it was in the past.

Let me explain there used to be disputations in the Communist Party in the past before Stalin came into complete control. These disputations were considered a natural part of the growth of an organization, and differences in the eyes of individuals even if they are agreed on general theory.

But when Stalin came into complete control, disputations of this kind were called factionalism, and they were completely suppressed. Stalin transformed the Communist parties into centralized totalitarian parties. When Molotov says, "The struggle against factionalism now, in the present phase, must be different from what it was in the past," he means that from then on Stalin will take over the parties and there will be no more factions except his own.

I continue quoting from Molotov's speech:

That is why it would not do to stop merely at the sending of an open political letter without taking certain organizational measures, measures mapped out by the Comintern prior to the convention.

I may say the organizational measures meant the Communist International will appoint all the leaders of the Communist Party henceforth, and all the heads of the important sections of that party, at its own discretion and will. I continue:

The carrying out of these decisions is absolutely necessary in order to stop the factional fight in the party. The time has come for the Communist Party of the United States of America to get on a new track, and with the support of the Comintern, to insure the proper development of the party, insure the liquidation of factionalism not in words but in deeds.

The interesting part of all these speeches about factionalism by Stalin and Molotov, which indicates at least in part their methods of operation, which I intend to deal with later, is that while all these speeches were being made I was the one who, at the direction of Stalin and Molotov, was told how to carry out the factional fight in the American Party and to transmit Stalin and Molotov's wishes to William Z. Foster and others in the United States carrying on that fight.

STALIN'S BATTERY OF SECRETARIES

Now I come to the next part in the illustration of Stalin's personal role in the direction of the Communist International organization.

In 1928, Stalin added to his personal secretariat a number of secretaries to double-check on his appointees in the Communist International and keep him informed on the carrying out and enforcement of his orders. Each of these secretaries had a special area of operation. There was a secretary on German affairs, a secretary on Chinese affairs, a secretary on French affairs, a secretary on American affairs, and so forth. The secretary on American affairs was B. Mikhailov,

who in 1930, under the name of George Williams, became Stalin's personal representative in the purging and reorganization of the Communist Party, USA.

I met Mikhailov several times in his Moscow apartment and later on in the United States. Although his authority designated him as Comintern representative, I knew from my own knowledge of things behind the scenes in Moscow that he was Stalin's personal representative. His word was law in the American Communist Party, and he ruthlessly purged the party in the United States of all adherents or suspected adherents of Lovestone. He had at his disposal unlimited funds for that purpose.

I remember an incident where he had received a cable in code from the Paris bureau of the Communist International (Paris, France), which he could not decode on the basis of the key that he had for decoding and, since he knew that I, myself, was to go to South America (Colombia and Venezuela) as a representative of the Communist International, he asked me whether I could decode it on the basis of my key, but I could not. Apparently the Paris bureau of the Communist International used the wrong key, and he was very angry about this.

In later years, Stalin's battery of secretaries became in fact the controlling and ruling body through which Stalin controlled and operated the international Communist movement. So when, in 1943, the Communist International was formally dissolved, the dissolution was in fact only a deception. In reality, the Communist International organization continued to operate under direct control of Stalin through his special secretaries.

As will be seen from what follows, Stalin's special secretaries were, of course, only one of the instrumentalities of control. The Communist International organization is dependent upon Moscow in many other ways, which I shall herewith enumerate.

FINANCES

The question of finances. To start with, the salaries for all employees working in the headquarters of the Communist International are provided by the Russian Treasury. The same is true as to salaries and expenses for all agents, representatives, and instructors sent out from Moscow to control and direct the various Communist Parties on the spot. Moscow headquarters also provides for subsidies for the Communist press in the various countries. It also provides subsidies intended to channel Communist activities into strategic industries, such as maritime, transportation, communication, and the infiltration of steel, mining, oil, and other industries deemed of strategic importance to Moscow's over-all military strategy of conquest. Without these subsidies, various Communist Parties could not carry through the policies dictated by Moscow, and would become dependent upon revenue from their own home countries.

(Representative McSweeney leaves.)

Mr. WALTER. Do you know how the funds are transmitted for the carrying out of these purposes?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know some of the methods.

Mr. WALTER. For example, how are the representatives of the Moscow organization paid in this country?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the ones that represent the Communist International are paid out of the subsidies that Moscow allocates for the operations of that particular representative. For instance, when I went to South America as a representative of the Communist International, I had, for the first 6 months of operation in Colombia, an initial appropriation of \$15,000.

Mr. WALTER. Where did it come from?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The \$15,000 were received by me in the following fashion: They were first sent to Berlin to a banking concern whose name I do not know, and then transmitted to New York, and from New York transferred to me to a certain bank in Bogota, Colombia, and I drew the funds from there.

Mr. WALTER. Is that the pattern followed in all cases? Is the money transferred from Russia to a New York bank and there picked up?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know what banking institutions participate in those activities?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The American Communist Party used to get some through the old Bank of the United States, and later on through the Amalgamated Bank, which still exists. I don't know if the same channel is still used for the transmission of funds.

But that is only one way of receiving funds. The other way is through the Soviet commercial agencies; and the third way is through individuals of confidence to whose account the money may be banked, say, in Germany, and then transferred to another individual of confidence in the United States to his personal account.

Mr. WALTER. When the money is transmitted to a bank in the United States to somebody's credit, then, of course, that person has to go to the bank in order to pick up the money?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who does that, many individuals, or just one or two?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Whoever is designated by the general secretary of the party, with the consent of the representative of the Communist International, who may be then resident and operating behind the scenes.

I may at this point say that the subsidies of the Communist Party, both for its national headquarters and its press, have a great deal to do with the nature of the Communist Party. If a party were entirely dependent upon contributions from its own members or sympathizers, it would have to listen to their opinions and to their wishes. The party could not become as thoroughly a totalitarian organization as the Communist Party has become. But if the center can become independent of the membership by subsidies—and whenever there is a dispute in the party, Moscow, even if the income of the party drops, will subsidize that center—then, of course, the party becomes a tool of those who dispense the subsidies, irrespective of the attitude of its own members.

Of course the same holds true with the party investing funds in organization campaigns that financially would not be remunerative, but because Moscow is interested, let us say, to organize deep-seamen for strategic reasons, it will furnish the necessary subsidies to operate in that field for strategic reasons, even though the party, on the basis of its own income, could not afford it.

TRAINING COLLEGES

I will come to the next part of the set-up as operated from Moscow, and this relates to training colleges.

The vast Communist International organization could not be operated without trained personnel. Therefore, the Russian Communist Party, which has control over the Soviet Government and disposes of all of its resources, began, in 1926, to set up a vast network of political training colleges to train non-Russian Communists in the various arts of political warfare and types of organization and methods of operation suitable to the purposes of Moscow.

All of these colleges are under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and every non-Russian Communist who comes to Moscow for training is, after 90 days, transferred into membership of the Russian Communist Party and is subject to its dictates. Moscow has five training colleges of this type in Moscow City itself. There are others in other cities. I will only speak of the ones in Moscow because I know personally of their existence, and there were other Americans who studied in them whom I knew personally.

Lenin University: Lenin University has a capacity for 600 trainees who are recruited through the Communist Parties of industrially developed countries, such as central and western Europe, England, the Americas, the British Empire, etc.

Eastern University: Eastern University has a capacity for 2,000 trainees, recruited from China, Indonesia, India, Korea, Malaya, Burma, etc.

I may say at this point that most of the officers of the Chinese Communist Party were trained at Eastern University, and by the thousands, ever since 1926. If anybody has an illusion that Moscow has a loose control over the Chinese Communist Party, he is very much mistaken.

Western University: Western University has a capacity for 1,200 trainees, recruited mostly from the then independent Balkan and Baltic countries.

Academy of Red Professors: The Academy of Red Professors has a capacity for 200 trainees, taking a 5- to 7-year course, which is more extensive and thorough than the other training colleges in the theory, methods, and organization of political warfare. The men trained in this academy usually become the political representatives of the Communist International of the major Communist Parties.

Mr. WALTER. Did many Americans attend the Academy of Red Professors?

Mr. KORNFEDER. There are two I know of.

Mr. WALTER. Who were they?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Sam Don, D-o-n, who later became editor of the Daily Worker; and another one was Miller, I believe Clarence Miller. After his graduation he was utilized in the apparatus of the Communist International. I don't know to what extent he became active in the American Communist Party, however. I haven't seen his name in any public activity. Of course there were others, but I don't know them personally.

Soviet Military Academy: The Soviet Military Academy has a special section for training those among the foreign Communists who,

because of their ability and military aptitudes, have been chosen for staff training, enabling them to organize and lead insurrectionary general warfare on a large scale.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know of any Americans who attended the Soviet Military Academy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; I don't.

Mr. HARRISON. How about Lenin?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Lenin University?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I know quite a few who attended there.

Mr. HARRISON. Name some of them.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Charles Krumbein. Margaret Cowl, which is an assumed name; her real name is Margaret Unjus, U-n-j-u-s. Rudolph Baker, a Yugoslav, I don't recall his real name. Clarence Hathaway, who later became editor of the Daily Worker.

And there were several Negroes. One, I believe, whose name was Harry Haywood; and another one went by the name of Brady, whose real name, I believe, is Lightfoot. There were several others whose names offhand I don't recall, but there were quite a batch of them. And the same thing is the case in Eastern University. The mass of Negro students from the United States they used to send to Eastern University because in the concept of the leaders of the Comintern the Negroes are treated as colonials. Eastern University is training personnel for the eastern countries, and they would usually assign the largest number of Negroes from the American Communist Party to the Eastern University. As was to be expected, the American Negroes are accustomed to a standard way above that of the Chinese and others, and they used to have a problem on their hands from Negro Communists assigned to Eastern University. That was the case when I was there. They couldn't stomach the food, and couldn't stand the smelly accommodations, and couldn't live without baths and so on, so they really had plenty of trouble on their hands on account of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Steve Nelson there while you were there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; he came shortly after. I know he went there, but he either came about the time when I was ready to leave or shortly after. I know he was due to be at the Lenin School.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Nowell?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he there while you were there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; Nowell came there, I think, 1 year after I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Carl Reeve?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Carl Reeve was there at the same time I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you name Hathaway?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Clarence Hathaway, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Proceed.

Mr. KORNFEDER. In addition to the above training schools there are some supersecret schools of which I heard but have no personal knowledge, which train non-Russian Communists for the Soviet secret service in capitalistic countries. These "hush-hush" schools educate spies in the various arts of underground warfare, espionage, and sabotage, which, in the political warfare colleges, are taught only in abbreviated form.

In all of these training colleges, 10 percent of the personnel is made up of Russians who, after their graduation, are used in the interna-

tional apparatus of the Communist International organization or in the Soviet diplomatic or secret service.

The expenses for the maintenance of the thousands of trainees turned out every year, for their transportation to and from Russia and for the salaries of the teaching staff are defrayed by the Soviet treasury. All of the above-enumerated training colleges have contingents from the Communist Party of the United States.

Trainees from the United States who are active in the various Communist-controlled foreign-language organizations are, as a rule, sent to the Western University, and the native Americans or naturalized Americans who have a good command of the English language are trained in Lenin University.

The number of trainees turned out by these schools since 1926, in my estimation—and I only take into account the ones I know of directly located in Moscow—must be at least 50,000 or more men and women.

Mr. WOOD. About what percentage of those, based on attendance at the time you were there, were from the States?

Mr. KORNFEDER. From the States, counting all the different colleges over a period of 23 years, I would estimate the number trained at about 900 to 1,200.

Mr. WOOD. About 2 percent, then?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you paid while you were at the school in Moscow?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Your maintenance is taken care of completely right on the school grounds. Then you get an allowance for clothing which is extra. Then at that time the ruble was worth much more than now, and you had an extra of 50 rubles a month.

Mr. WALTER. Who paid your transportation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The Soviet treasury, through the Communist International.

Mr. WALTER. Where did you receive that? In New York?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In New York, yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who paid that?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The one who gave me the money at that time, I believe, was Jack Stachel, the organization secretary, who was then in charge of the organization department.

Mr. WALTER. You had to obtain a passport to go to Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Certainly.

Mr. WALTER. What reason did you give to go to Russia when you made your application for a passport?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I didn't say I was going to Russia. I said I was going to France, Germany, and so on. Russia was not mentioned.

MOLOTOV

Vyachislav Molotov, until recently Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, was, beginning in 1929, Stalin's deputy and second in charge of the Communist International, and had at that time direct charge of the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States and of the Communist Party of France.

Molotov's knowledge of conditions and life in countries outside of Russia at that time was very skimpy. I remember, in the case of the

faction fight above referred to between the Foster and Lovestone factions in the American Communist Party, he had decided that William Z. Foster was to become the general secretary to replace Lovestone, and I communicated that decision to the Foster faction in the United States.

Within a week of Molotov's decision, I was asked to meet Losovsky—now reputedly in charge behind the scenes of the activities of the Japanese Communist Party—in his apartment in Moscow, and was told that there was some bad news. The bad news consisted of Losovsky's telling me that Stalin had overruled Molotov for strategic reasons, and that Foster was not to be the secretary. Instead, there was to be a secretariat composed of two Lovestone adherents who had capitulated and Earl Browder, a Foster adherent then operating in China.

I was not surprised at what Losovsky told me because I had already heard of the new decision from the editor of the Bolshevik theoretical journal of the Russian Communist Party. I objected, of course, to the new decision but was told by Losovsky that if I did anything against it, it would have very serious consequences for me personally.

Mr. WOOD. What did you understand from that?

Mr. KORNFEDER. From that you could easily understand two things: (1) That I wouldn't be able to get out of Russia, since because most Communists come there not on their own passports, the Soviet Government, if it so wishes, can charge them with illegal entry and suspected espionage because they came in on false passports; and (2) it could mean I would be sent certain places from which Communists usually don't come back.

Mr. WOOD. Is that what you understood?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. How did you get out of Russia actually?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I remained in their good graces. I had that much sense.

Mr. WALTER. You had to have travel visas. When you came back to the United States, where did you sail from? When you left Russia, where did you go?

Mr. KORNFEDER. To New York.

Mr. WALTER. By way of what?

Mr. KORNFEDER. By way of Finland. If you are in good standing, visas are very simple.

Mr. WALTER. You said you had no Russian visa to go into Russia.

Mr. KORNFEDER. I obtained a Russian visa in Germany through the Berlin Communist Party. That visa was not placed on the passport but on a separate piece of paper.

Mr. WALTER. It was called a travel permit?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right. And when I left Russia the exit visa was on a separate piece of paper and was not stamped on the passport.

Losovsky also assured me that this was only a tactical change and that, in fact, the Lovestone faction was going to be thoroughly cleaned out of the party, and that the adherents of the Foster faction would be put in control, but it would have to be done more gradually.

I met Molotov subsequently on the premises of the Lenin School with an interpreter, and had an opportunity to see for myself how ignorant he was of American affairs. However, he remained in

charge, under Stalin, of the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States and of the Communist Party of France and later on of England.

The regular bodies of the Communist International, such as its Executive Committee, its Presidium, and so forth, could not, except on formal occasions when some resolutions had to be formally adopted, act on the affairs of the major Communist parties because their affairs were handled directly, either through Stalin or Molotov, and the affairs of the Russian Communist Party had long ceased to be, even in a formal sense, on the agenda of the regular committees of the Communist International.

The Russian Communist Party never considered itself subject to the decisions of the Communist International, and, on the contrary, it is the Russian Communist Party who directed the affairs of all other Communist parties through the apparatus of the Communist International.

I recall the testimony of Krivitsky, which I think illustrates this perfectly. Krivitsky was a former general of their intelligence services in western Europe, and he said the following:

The Communist International is not an organization of autonomous and independent parties. The Communist parties are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

If I had any illusions on this subject, certainly my experiences in Moscow disabused me completely as to who really runs and controls the Communist parties outside of Russia.

KEY DEPARTMENTS

Now I come to the key departments through which the actual control and operation of the various Communist parties is directed and controlled in Moscow.

The mere training of large numbers of personnel does not, in itself, constitute a well-ordered organization, and Stalin, if anything, ~~is~~ a thorough and despotic organizer; hence, in what follows, I shall show how all this personnel is organized.

Moscow's control over the worldwide Communist Party is executed mainly through a number of key departments operating from Moscow headquarters, through which leadership and control flows over the affiliated Communist parties.

THE AGITATION PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

This department at that time was headed by Karl Radek, one of the ablest propagandists. It has control and supervision over the entire Communist press in all countries. It also has charge over the whole publishing business designed for non-Russian Communist parties inside and outside of Russia.

In the course of time under Stalin, this and other departments tightened their control over their respective fields more and more. By 1929, no one could become an editor, or a manager, or a writer on foreign affairs, in any of the chief publications of the Communist

parties without approval of the Agitation Propaganda Department in Moscow.

The political bureau of the American Communist Party would then either have to seek prior approval of the editor of the *Daily Worker* or, if appointed to that position by its own initiative, the editor would still have to be sanctioned by Moscow headquarters. The *Daily Worker*, in fact, was a creature of the subsidies emanating from Moscow. The same was the case with the *Daily Worker* of the British Communist Party. The *Daily Worker* is regularly analyzed by the experts of the Agitation and Propaganda Department, and detailed instructions are given as to its line of policy and contents.

As a member of the Anglo-American Secretariat, the situation, financially and otherwise, of the *Daily Worker* of the United States and the one published in London came up periodically for discussion. The *Daily Worker* at that time was subsidized to the extent of 70 percent and more by Moscow. It was created by a lump subsidy from Moscow in the first place. And the *Daily Worker* in London at that time was subsidized to the extent of 95 percent by Moscow.

Clarence Hathaway, who was the first editor of the *Daily Worker* after the great purge of Lovestonites, and who was a trainee of the Lenin University, was made editor by decision made in Moscow. That is, they devised the arguments to make the changes palatable to the rank and file.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department is in charge also of the formulation of theories and slogans to justify various sudden changes in party line dictated from Moscow. It is this department that devises the propaganda techniques followed by the various Communist parties. When a new front is created, such as the former League Against Imperialism, it is the department which devises the theory and platform to justify the creation of such a front. There was a front to operate against the United States in South America and against England in India and other colonies of Britain and France.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department is the department in charge of the so-called cultural activities of the various Communist fronts operating among professionals, such as scenario writers, artists, and intellectuals in various fields. It directs the radio set-ups beaming propaganda in various languages to the four corners of the earth, and is in charge of other propaganda fields.

As a representative of the Foster faction in Moscow, I had occasion to write various pieces of propaganda to be used on the Moscow radio for the United States.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department is also the department charged with recommendations for subsidies for the Communist press in the United States and the publication houses which publish Communist books, such as International Publishers in the United States. They order the International Publishers what to print and what not to print. International Publishers, headed by Alexander Trachtenberg, is entirely a creature of Moscow.

THE ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

The Organization Department, at the time of my stay in Moscow, was headed by Ossip Piatnitzky, assisted by one Vasiliev. Piatnitzky was one of the ablest political organizers I ever met. He was a specialist on underground techniques. This department is in direct

charge of all the organization politics of the Communist parties and has extensive personnel to enforce its decisions.

I sat in on various organization conferences conducted by this department, and one discussion which I well remember was on the results of reorganizing the entire structure of the American Communist Party. The party in the United States had originally been based upon foreign-language federations which had been taken over from the Socialist Party of the United States and continued to function as before, except that they were affiliated now with the Communist Party.

Moscow decided that this entire structure had to be scrapped completely and that the members belonging to the language federations would have to become members of the regular territorial units of the Communist Party in order to have a more thorough check on their activities, and make them subject to the main objectives of Moscow, namely, infiltration into labor unions, participation in the general activities of the party, and so forth.

The language federations were, as a result of this decision, replaced by language bureaus appointed by the central committee, thus bringing activities among the foreign language minorities in the United States under a more complete control by Moscow.

Another organization conference discussion I attended related to a still further reorganization of the Communist Party activities in the United States and other countries, and the results of these discussions were also applied to Communist parties in other countries. This reorganization called for organization of Communist Party units based on factories, trades, and industries.

Under this scheme, Communists who were union members or professionals operating in the teaching field, book-publishing field, engineering field, and so forth, were to be organized on the basis of their occupation, and would operate as Communist units in their own profession or occupation.

All members of the Communist Party who were eligible to join the unions were ordered to join them. The territorial units upon which the party had been based formerly were reduced to a minor role under this scheme of organization. In the course of years, this complete reorganization plan was put into effect.

I am giving these illustrations to indicate to what extent Moscow headquarters has control over the organization, practices, and details of the various Communist parties, including the Communist Party of the United States.

The Organization Department has also a great deal to say about any organization personnel in the various Communist parties. It has its own instructors to enforce its decisions upon the parties. As a rule, it chooses the heads of the organization departments of the various Communist parties, such as J. Peters, recently deported from the United States, or Alpi, his predecessor, and the same applies to district organization directors of the Communist parties in the various States, and to district organizers.

The Organization Department also supervises and directs organization techniques to be used in the organization of various types of Communist fronts. It is the department which has the most to say as to what subsidies should be granted in lump sums to the central com-

mittees of the various Communist Parties, how, and in what field the subsidies are to be spent.

THE LABOR UNION ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

This department was operated by Solomon Losovsky, the ablest man Moscow had at that time for this type of activity. The activities of this department, due to the extraordinary importance which the Moscow-command attaches to the conquest of labor unions, had an entirely separate set-up which occupied nearly as much space as the Communist International headquarters itself. To the outside world, this set-up was known as the Red International of Labor Unions, predecessor of the World Federation of Labor Unions, set up after the war.

This department had charge of all Communist tactics of organization and propaganda in this special field. It was in control of all leading fractions of Communists in labor unions outside of Russia and, through these fractions, was able to direct the activities of all Communist-controlled unions on the five continents. How thorough that control was I may illustrate by an incident of which I have direct personal knowledge.

I was instructed by this department, with the approval of the heads of the Communist International, to carry out upon my return to the United States, the expulsion of Ben Gold, present head of the Fur and Leather Workers International Union, CIO; of Irving Potash, present manager of the New York Joint Board of the Fur and Leather Workers International Union; and Rose Wortis, then leader of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and others. These leaders, all Communists, had displeased Losovsky, the head of this department, and although they had quit the Lovestone group, they were considered deviationists.

I had in my pocket a long letter signed by the Red Labor Union International, with Losovsky as general secretary, which was to be published in the entire party press to justify their expulsion. In that letter, they were denounced as corruptionists and opportunists, and there was, of course, plenty of reason for that charge, although that was not the main reason for the expulsion order.

With the help of Earl Browder, I prevailed upon Michailov, personal representative of Stalin, then carrying out the purge in the American Communist Party, to send them instead to Moscow for further training. And that is how they happened to go to Lenin University. The letter of the Red Labor Union International was not published as such, but instead, a toned-down article by Jack Johnston, then a member of the central committee of the American Communist Party, was published against them in the Daily Worker as a possible base for their expulsion if, upon their return from Moscow, they should not conform.

The Labor Union Activities Department had charge also of all the strike strategy to be followed by unions controlled by the Communist Party. It had charge of deciding where strikes were to be called in accordance with the designs of Moscow, and how these strikes were to be utilized.

Subsidies for labor-union activities had to pass through this department. I was consulted on some of these subsidies on activities in

the United States, and know that the activities in the maritime field, in the mining field, and activities among railroad brotherhoods received special consideration and continued subsidies. In all of these fields, subsidies were continuous.

In addition to the subsidies for activities in certain industries, there was a general subsidy for the Trade Unity League, then headed by William Z. Foster. I remember especially one discussion relating to a subsidy for activities inside the United Mine Workers, headed by John L. Lewis. Present at that meeting were Piatnitzky, of the Organization Department of the Communist International; Losovsky, head of the Trade Union Department; and Melnichansky, representing the Central Committee on the Russian Trade Unions. The complaint was that large subsidies formerly granted for infiltration of the United Mine Workers had not brought the results expected, and they wanted my opinion, as a representative of the Foster faction, on a new request for \$50,000. The amount was cut in half.

Moscow had a great contempt for the abilities of American Communists and, for that reason, they always took special organization measures to see to it that they got at least a part of their money's worth. Strikes, such as the Passaic textile strike, were much discussed and criticized, as well as the strikes in the mining and needle trades industry, in which the Communists at that time had great influence. There is not one strike in the United States that would not receive a thorough analysis as to its methods of operation and its results.

Mr. Wood. We will take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Attorney?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Mr. Kornfeder, you will resume your testimony, please.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER—Resumed

Mr. KORNFEDER. The next point on operations of the Communist International organization, Moscow, will deal with the Underground Activities Department.

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

It is a must for all Communist Parties to carry on illegal or underground activities side by side with legal or open activities. I may illustrate the point by quoting point 4 of the Twenty-one Conditions of Affiliation with the Communist International. I quote:

The obligation to spread Communist ideas includes the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army. Wherever such propaganda is forbidden by exceptional laws, it must be carried on illegally. The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the International.

For the efficient operation of this type of activity, there was set up at Communist International headquarters a special department known as OMSK, which in English signifies General International Liaison

Commission. This department was under the charge of one Abrams, a sinister looking individual.

This is the department in which I received training for the setting up of secret short-wave radio stations in the countries to which I was assigned, and also the method of communicating by cipher or code. This is the department also that supplied me a specialist of the Red Army staff to instruct me in the techniques of guerrilla warfare, which, in the countries I was sent to, may be of advantage to organize.

The OMSK worked out the various techniques of underground operation for the affiliated Communist Parties. It operated the secret, short-wave radio system of code communication between the Communist Parties and Moscow headquarters. It handled the forging of passports and identity papers, the smuggling of arms and other forms of contraband, and the routing of secret agents back and forth. It had special channels of communication for confidential reports and messages.

The method of creating a secret radio station, according to the instructions I received, was to get together a group of radio amateurs who were either Communists or close sympathizers and utilize them to set up a radio outlet. After the creation of such a set-up, I was to communicate with Moscow, and they were to send a specialist trained in Moscow who would know how to use our radio for secret communication. This department also works as a liaison between the Communist underground activities and the Soviet Secret Service operating in countries outside of Russia. Some of the methods of operation of this department were revealed in the exposures of infiltration in the United States Government agencies recently.

This department also engages in the circulation of counterfeit money printed in Moscow. Among the first arrests made in this connection were arrests made back in 1932 or 1933 in connection with the circulation of American bank notes of high denominations. Infiltration into armed services, and the devising of sabotage techniques and the supply of armaments for civil war purposes is also handled by this department.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

This department was headed by Will Munzenberg, an individual of unusual ability who in later years became the chief organizer for the whole system of deceptive fronts, a method of organizing sympathizers and innocents which has been of such tremendous help in the infiltration of Communists into all walks of life.

The Moscow leadership considers activities among the youth of capitalist countries of tremendous importance; hence, the Youth Activities Department operated through an organization then known as the Young Communist International. The headquarters of the Young Communist International was in the same building as that of the Communist International and occupied an entire floor.

The present World Federation of Democratic Youth, organized by the Communists after the war, is the successor of the Young Communist International. The principal objectives of the activities of the Young Communist International were the infiltration of colleges, universities, and high schools of the various capitalist countries.

It is the Youth Activities Department of the Communist International which designed all the special agitation and propaganda

methods to be used among the youth of the various countries. The Youth Activities Department was also the department in charge of all youth organizations and activities of the various Communist Parties in all industries employing masses of youth. The main general objective of this activity was to induce disloyalty to one's own country among the youth and, by creating discontent, to transfer the loyalty of the youth to the Soviet Union.

Youth activities are interlinked with Communist labor union activities in industries or institutions employing or handling masses of youth. The Communist Party coordinates its activities among the teaching staffs in the school system with the youth activities among the students or pupils in various teaching establishments.

Infiltration of armed services and contacting of armed-service personnel for both propaganda and demoralization work, form an important part of the Youth Department's activities in cooperation with the Communist Party.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

This department, then headed by Krupskaya, widow of Lenin, is designed to prey on and exploit special women's grievances, and is in charge of all the women's fronts created by the Comintern and its affiliated Communist Parties. This department is also in charge of the techniques of infiltration of non-Communist women's organizations in the various countries. Its direction and activity is made effective by the control of Communist leading fractions in the various women's organizations.

The creation by key Communists of a World Federation of Democratic Women after the war makes it possible for this department to coordinate all the women's organizations under Communist control, and its infiltration activities are centralized thus into one special women's agency through which to operate its further activities.

AGRARIAN ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

This department was headed at that time by Dombrowsky, specialist on agrarian problems. Its activities were made effective by a special set-up, then known as the Peasants International. Its job was to design special methods of propaganda and organization adapted to the peasant and farm population of the various countries.

Stalin considers the peasants in the colonial countries as "the axis of the Colonial Revolution." In my time, this department was in its infancy, but much was done in this field since. The department operated in the various countries through Communist fractions active in the organization of peasant leagues, farmers' unions, farm cooperatives, farm labor parties, and workers' and peasants' fronts, etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

The Control Commission is a policing set-up inside the Communist International and its affiliated parties, each party having a control commission of its own which operates under the direction of the Control Commission in Moscow.

The Control Commission keeps a biographical file of the officers and members of all Communist Parties and their activities. I may

say at this point that although the Communists in this country would refuse to divulge the names or activities of members of their organizations, Moscow has a complete file of the membership of the Communist Party, and not only a file, it has a biographical detail of every officer, no matter how small, or leader of the Communist Party, from the unit up. And Moscow also has a file of all the leading individuals in all the fronts, with the details about their activities, which may indicate, incidentally, whom they trust and whom they don't trust.

The Control Commission in Moscow has jurisdiction over all agents or representatives of the Communist International, as well as over members of all Central Committees of the various affiliated parties. The Control Commission of the individual Communist Parties has jurisdiction over the rest of the personnel of each individual party.

The Control Commission may expel a member, demote a party official, make punitive transfers to more dangerous or less desirable activities, and initiate and carry out, if authorized by leaders in Moscow, entire purges in the various Communist Parties.

In fact, the Control Commission may intervene in almost any and all activities from the point of view of enforcing discipline and the strict carrying out of the party line as dictated from Moscow.

COMINTERN INFORMATION SERVICE

Each Communist Party must send to Moscow the minutes of the meetings of its Central Committee and Political Bureau, the minutes of all district or State executive committees, and the minutes of all leading fractions operating inside of Communist-controlled or infiltrated labor unions, and also the minutes of Communist-controlled front organization meetings. Moscow also receives the official minutes of all labor unions and front organizations controlled by the Communist Parties in the various countries.

All of this tremendous flow of information, when it arrives in Moscow, passes through the hands of information specialists which each of the parties sends to Moscow and who have offices at Comintern headquarters.

The duty of this specialist is to dissect that material and make it ready for use or perusal by the various departments of the Communist International. Some of the departments, such as the labor union activities department, youth activities department, and so forth, have their own specialists supplied by the Communist Parties of the various countries, to analyze and use the material received for their own special activities.

In addition to the above, each major party sends a representative to Moscow headquarters. The representatives from the United States in my time were Louis Enghdal, Bert Wolfe, and William Weinstone. The functions of these representatives were to make summaries of important activities of the Communist Party of their own countries for use by the presidium of the Communist International, and to act in a consulting capacity on matters of their own parties to the leaders of the Communist International.

SECRET REPORTS

Reports concerning activities of Communists in the armed services or infiltration in Government departments, or matters relating to technological or other espionage, are received through special channels and handled by the Underground Activities Department (OMSK), above referred to. In addition to the above secret reporting, there are, of course, the reports of the Soviet Secret Service itself, which are handled entirely by the competent agencies of the Russian Secret Service and often serve as a double check on the reports received from the Communist Party itself.

COMINTERN LIBRARY

Copies of all material published by the various Communist Parties, whether books, journals, newspapers, pamphlets, and even leaflets, are sent to the Comintern Library and are available to any of the departments of the Comintern.

The same library also receives, through subscription, copies of all important newspapers, journals, and other publications of a non-Communist character, such as the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and at least one important newspaper from each major city in the United States.

Access to this material is available only to the officials of the Communist International, officials and members of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and trainees and officials of the various political warfare colleges in Moscow. Thus, the flow of information material on activities in the United States as well as on other countries is truly tremendous.

The Commissariat (Ministry) of Foreign Affairs has its own set-up and also receives a tremendous amount of material, including official reports published by the various departments of the United States, congressional committees, and so forth, which, of course, is also available for perusal by different agencies of the Communist International.

The material and information thus received, under the supervision of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist International and the corresponding department of the Russian Communist Party, is used in shaping the material for broadcasts over the Moscow radio and also used as the basis for articles by the Russian press.

COMINTERN SECRETARIATS

In order to give more specialized direction to the various Communist Parties, Moscow headquarters has, in addition to the basic departments above enumerated, a system of continental or semicontinental secretariats. There is the Far Eastern Secretariat, at that time led by Lominadse; the Central European Secretariat, led by Dimitrov; the Anglo-American Secretariat led by Petrowski; and the Latin-American Secretariat led by Togliatti, then known in Moscow as Ercoli, present leader of the Italian Communist Party; the Caribbean Secretariat, led by Bittelman, an American Communist now held for deportation; and the Balkan Secretariat, led by the late Bela Kun, former dictator of Hungary, and later by Rakosi, present dictator of Hungary.

The Anglo-American, Far Eastern, and Latin-American Secretariats at that time operated from Moscow headquarters. The Central European Secretariat operated from Berlin; the Caribbean Secretariat operated from New York; and the Balkan Secretariat operated from Vienna, Austria. The function of these secretariats is to supply a more detailed political supervision over the operations of the various Communist Parties under their jurisdiction, to elaborate on the tactical adaptation of the directives of Moscow headquarters, to report on conditions in countries under their supervision, and to report on matters of strategy to be pursued in the special areas of the globe in which they operate.

THE SYSTEM OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AND INSTRUCTORS

Moscow headquarters is not satisfied with checking on the Communist Parties from a long distance, however. Hence, a system of field representatives operating right on the ground had been established early in the existence of the Communist International, and has been highly developed since Stalin's advance to absolute power.

Prior to the establishment of complete control by Stalin, the Communist International used to send occasional representatives to resolve disputes in the various Communist Parties. Beginning with 1926 and 1927, however, a system of resident representatives of the Communist International to the major Communist Parties began to be established.

By 1929, this was followed by whole staffs, all under the supervision of the Communist International, and its continental and semicontinental secretariats took charge of the major departments of each Communist Party.

The Communist International representative was, behind the scenes, the top political boss of the Communist Party to which he was assigned. Under his orders are Communist International instructors who are in charge of the Organization Department, the Agitation and Propaganda Department, Underground Activities Department, Youth Activities Department, Labor Union Activities Department, and so forth.

The Communist International representative and his staff operate, of course, entirely behind the scenes and are known under assumed names only to those supreme inside the party. The establishment of this system of representatives and their staffs strengthens the iron grip of Stalin upon the various Communist Parties, reducing the leaders to mere "Charlie McCarthy's" of those who stand behind them.

Ability on the part of the official leaders of the party was desirable, of course, but only if they were completely subservient to the dictates of Moscow.

Moscow, through its staff on the spot, made certain, however, that the party was run according to its dictates, even by individuals of little ability, if need be. The representatives and instructors to the Communist Party of the United States that I have knowledge of were Gussev, a former Russian general, alias P. Green; Pogany, former Minister of War in the former Hungarian Government, alias Schwartz, alias John Pepper; Ewert, former German Reichstag deputy, alias

Braun; Michailov, personal representative of Stalin, alias Williams; and Gerhart Eisler, alias Edwards, alias Hans Berger, and so forth. All the foregoing were representatives of the Communist International, and there were others who were instructors in charge of various departments who are too numerous to remember.

THE FORMAL SET-UP

The formal set-up through which the Communist Parties were united into a world organization during the time of my stay in Moscow has since (1943) been abolished. At that time, there were periodical congresses of the Communist International, to which all parties sent delegates, and those congresses were authorized to proclaim to the world changes in policy or strategy.

The congresses elected formally an Executive Committee of the Communist International, which in turn elected a Presidium, and the various departments then functioned formally under the direction of the Executive Committee elected by the congresses, and the Presidium.

In the early stages of the Communist movement, such a set-up was necessary to make the Communist Parties and their rank and file members believe that there was a certain amount of democracy in the set-up and that they had certain rights through which to have their say as to the policies and affairs of the world-wide organization.

The real facts, of course, were that the Communist Parties outside of Russia, as Krivitzky in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities aptly expressed it, were "nothing but branches of the Russian Communist Party," and upon Stalin's entrenchment in power, he more and more disregarded the formal set-up and, through his special batteries of secretaries on foreign affairs, ran the Communist International organization through the basic departments above enumerated as a mere instrument of the Russian Communist Party and Stalin's Political Bureau.

Thus, when the formal set-up was abolished in 1943, the real machinery through which these parties were operated remained intact, and the only thing that was changed was that the direction and control from Moscow over these parties was more concealed than before. The essential machinery of controlling and directing these parties continued to operate because, without it, it would have been impossible to run such a complex world-wide organization.

Stalin had long before tired of the formalities under the old set-up which he considered a waste of time, and the war gave him a welcome occasion to do away with it. Today more than ever before the Communist Parties outside of Russia are mere rubber stamps with not a vestige of power regarding final decisions.

THE COMINFORM

With the termination of the war and the instigation of what has become known as the cold war by Russia, there arose the necessity for some sort of agency or committee through which policy could be proclaimed, in a form separate from the Soviet Government, as a megaphone for Stalin's decisions. Hence, the Cominform was created.

The Cominform is nothing but an arbitrary executive set-up, a

public mouthpiece under which to carry on, and nothing more. The Communist Parties have no formal rights whatsoever under this set-up. It should be obvious to anyone that without the basic machinery of its departments, and so forth, operating directly under Moscow direction, the Cominform would be entirely ineffective.

It is the continuation of this basic machinery that explains the sudden creation of new international fronts by the Communists, and continued unified direction of the complex Communist activities in the United States and all other countries.

THE WORKINGS OF STALIN'S MIND

The problem of understanding Russian policy has become greatly simplified since Stalin became absolute dictator of Russia and the sole authority for international Communist policies.

Due to the fractional fighting existing in the American Communist Party and other parties, in which he was deeply involved, I had an opportunity, during my stay in Moscow, to study Stalin's techniques.

During hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities several years ago, Jay Lovestone, former secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, introduced certain documents relating to the factional fight in the American Communist Party, and the role that Joseph Stalin and Molotov directly played in the dictation of policy to the Communist Party of the United States at that time.

Knowing as I do what actually took place behind the scenes, which was the very opposite of what Stalin then proclaimed in his speeches in a closed meeting of Comintern leaders on this matter, the following pattern as to Stalin's methods emerges.

Stalin prepares with great thoroughness the strategy and technique which he wishes to use to defeat an enemy, whether the enemy be inside of the Communist movement or outside. Thus, Stalin, in fact, directed from the beginning the factional fight against the majority led by Lovestone in the American Communist Party. I know that from first-hand knowledge, because I was one of the principals through which this fight was carried out. Stalin, of course, remained entirely in the background in this phase of the fight, officially denied all participation in it, and operated through others.

This part of his method is usually very thoroughly worked out and is very important. He plans all the organizational fights against an opponent. But even more interesting and just as thoroughly worked out is the method used to fool the enemy, whether inside or outside of the Communist movement, and to conceal Stalin's real intentions.

In this particular instance, the factional fight in the American Communist Party was covertly directed by Stalin. The objective was to make Lovestone and his followers believe that Stalin had not taken sides and that Lovestone could get a fair break if he did the right thing by Stalin. Stalin did, in fact, through the Comintern leaders, proclaim the policy against all factionalism, and for peace and harmony in the Communist Party, and so forth.

On the basis of that, Stalin persuaded Lovestone and the majority of the members of the Central Committee to come to Moscow to settle the controversy, and I, as the representative of the opposing faction, in order to more thoroughly fool Lovestone, received sealed instruc-

tions to desist from any activities whatsoever against the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States while, behind the scenes, through Losovsky, I was told just the contrary.

Although I was not supposed to carry on factional activities, I could make any statement on the situation in the American Communist Party, and that statement would be circulated to all the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia and leaders of the Communist Parties who were or happened to be in Moscow.

Throughout all the phases from beginning to end, sometimes several times a week, I would meet with leaders of the Russian Communist Party, either individually or in groups, and discuss how to carry on this fight. Yet, officially, I was not supposed to do it, and the Russian leaders claimed they were not interested or taking part in the fight.

Mr. WALTER. Who were the members of the Communist Party who accompanied you to Moscow at that time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, Max Bedacht, William Z. Foster, Alexander Bittelman, Ella Bloor, and there were a few others.

Mr. WOOD. Was one Ben Davis?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; he was not in that deep at that time.

This campaign of peace and harmony was effective in undermining Lovestone's influence in the party. In fact, it confused Lovestone himself and trapped him completely.

It is fully in keeping with this method of operation of Stalin that in the present international situation a tremendous campaign can be initiated by Moscow for peace and harmony between the United States and Russia, and that the Soviet diplomacy itself may initiate moves in that direction, while Stalin thoroughly prepares for war and works on an actual timetable for it.

STALIN, MASTER OF THE METHOD OF INDIRECTION

Stalin gained control of the Communist Party itself by a pattern of operation as illustrated here. While he was pretending harmony at that time, he, as general secretary of the party, was taking over generally the outlying portions of the Communist Party organization inside of Russia by appointing his representatives to strategic positions without any noise, in Siberia, in the Ukraine, in the Caucasian territories. He does not like a frontal fight until he is ready for it. Then when he had, without much noise, displaced those with whom there was disagreement, he tied up the bag and took over Moscow and Leningrad, which were the two main centers of the party organization. By the time the more brilliant theorists of the Russian Communist Party woke up it was too late. He is a master politician in the method of indirection.

I might digress by saying if you look over the present world scene you will see that the main Russian effort is concentrated in the periphery. For 20 years Stalin worked on the conquest of China, and at this time he is coming to the result he expected to get before this time.

The chances of taking the smaller spots, of course, are practically certain. For the same reason, the Comintern machine has been concentrating for many, many years in South America. There is more Communist activity in South America today than in the United States,

and it operates in a more exclusive situation. His idea is, to judge by the pattern he has followed so many times in and out of the Communist movement, to surround the main centers and make sure that when he makes the final attack he has enough to attack with.

Stalin always differentiates between what is proclaimed publicly and the actual intentions. The public policy is intended always to confuse and soften up the enemy while he sharpens his dagger for the kill.

The most fatal error for any nation to make when dealing with Stalin is to take his official attitudes at face value. My experience, and I believe the experience of many others familiar with the operations of Stalin, indicates that the only gauge for Stalin's policy is to study all the manifestations of what is actually being done under his direction, and disregard completely what is proclaimed publicly. What he proclaims publicly is usually the exact opposite of what he aims to do, or has but a slight resemblance to it. His method is to make the other fellow believe that he is going to do something that he does not intend to do, and to surprise him by what he actually does.

Those who analyze Russian policy solely on the basis of what is officially proclaimed by Stalin and his agencies are bound to mislead their nations, make the wrong appraisals, and fall into a trap.

In conclusion, may I anticipate a question as to why I left the Communist movement.

I left this movement, which I served from idealistic convictions for 15 years, because during my stay in Russia I had seen things like the arrest en masse of Communist Party members who disagreed with the top leaders—their arrest, their internment, imprisonment, and some were even executed. As a Communist, which I then still was ideologically, I could not stomach the idea of a Communist state using police methods to eliminate disagreements inside the Communist movement. And I was even then already suspicious that this thing may develop into a monster which will devour its own children, having been prior to that a student of the French Revolution, where something similar happened; those that made the revolution later on executed each other.

But I still was hoping that maybe I was mistaken, because when one spends 15 years in a movement, that is a great chunk out of your life, and, well, the old ego was in my way of admitting that I perhaps was wrong all that time.

But when the years rolled on and I saw what I had then begun to suspect, namely, that this thing called communism had become a monster that indeed was devouring its own children, and on a greater scale than the French Revolution did, and that unlike the French Revolution, which eventually did evolve into a democracy, the result in this case was cut out by the type of regime Stalin had inside of Russia and outside in the regime implanted in the Communist Party. I came to the conclusion I was completely and totally wrong in the idealism which I had attributed to this movement, and that this movement had become the worst despotism in the experience of man, something that had I known its true course, I would never have joined, I would always have fought, and now that I, like a great many other people, see what this thing really is, I am willing to do what I can to prevent its success and to prevent the annihilation of all freedom and all liberty and all rights that the individual acquired as the result

of democracy, by this movement gaining its objective and succeeding. I am interested in its defeat. That is why I appear before this committee.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. In your judgment, is it possible that the Communist organization as constituted in Russia today could ever function in a democratic manner?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. That is entirely impossible. The Communist Party in Russia itself has been reduced. It is a gigantic operation of secret police under the personal and direct control of Stalin.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, it is despotism of the worst sort?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Of the very worst sort.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. When did you leave Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In 1930.

Mr. HARRISON. When?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In 1930.

Mr. HARRISON. And you haven't been back since?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. When did you sever your connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In 1934.

Mr. HARRISON. Four years after you left Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. What were the circumstances under which you severed your connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The formal circumstances were that I got into a disagreement with them on one of their frequent switches of party line dictated from Moscow. That was the formal reason. Of course, if I had still been a theoretical follower, I would not have quit on account of a switch in party line. But the thing I was explaining before was already working on my mind for sometime, as to whether this whole regime is worth to be supported at all by anybody.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you recall the particular switch in party policy that was the straw that broke the camel's back, so to speak, with you?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, it was a switch where they were organizing unions outside of the American Federation of Labor, known as the Trade Union Unity League, for many years, and then they switched their policy to dissolve these unions and incorporate them into the American Federation of Labor for a new drive of infiltration inside the American Federation of Labor. Later on they switched again and pulled all the unions out of the American Federation of Labor, and got them into the newly formed CIO.

Mr. HARRISON. Why did you object to taking the unions into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was of the opinion then that the great mass production industries could not be organized through the crafts of the American Federation of Labor, but could be organized only through a mass type of organization such as an industrial union.

Since I was not a director in an office, but one who was in the field, I could not face the same type of workers and sell them one bill of goods today, and when Moscow changed the policy, face the same workers and sell them another bill of goods, without seeming to be a fraud.

Mr. HARRISON. You had done it before, had you not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Not as directly as that. It is one thing to manipulate party members. It is another thing to do the same thing before masses of people who don't know your ultimate theories, but who only know yesterday you sold them one bill of goods and today you are trying to sell them another bill of goods.

If I had yet been at that time convinced that the thing as a whole was worth while, I may have followed that, too, but since it came as it did when I was already very much in doubt on the thing as a whole, I could not take this.

Mr. HARRISON. How did you sever your connection? When they issued this new directive, then what did you do?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, if I had been as clear as I am now, I would have taken all the independent unions out of the control of the Communist Party and just kept them under my influence, which I could have done, because the party groups in those unions at that time were very weak; but although I was already thoroughly convinced that the Russian regime had gone to pot as far as my idealistic concepts were concerned, I still remained an adherent of the Communist philosophy as a general philosophy. That muddled me up sufficiently to prevent me from making an effort to keep control of the unions I had organized personally in Cleveland and other cities in Ohio. I just quit the party and turned over whatever there was under my control at that time.

Mr. HARRISON. What line of endeavor did you go into then?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I went back to New York and really began reading, not just Communist literature, but all the critics who have criticized Marxism and Leninism and everything from 50 to 100 years back. That is all I did for months, just to try to find what is basically wrong in this whole concept of dictatorship, either by a class or by a party or by a state, and so forth. I had to do that, because although I am a practical organizer, I am also a theoretical type, and unless I solved the problem in theory, I could not satisfy myself. That is what I did for a whole year, nothing but read, and read, and read.

Mr. HARRISON. What was your means of support during that period?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, at that time there was the depression, so I got on the WPA. The party did as much as they could, through their connections, to make it difficult for me, but they had then a sewing project which was controlled by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and that organization was not sympathetic to the Communists even then, and so through them I got on that project and earned a living at the same time.

Mr. HARRISON. What is your occupation now?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Right now? Well, I write; I do considerable speaking; and I am interested, together with others, in the promotion of some new inventions in which we expect to make good and get some income from.

Mr. HARRISON. When did you first start exposing these matters about which you have told us today?

Mr. KORNFEDER. My first effort at fighting them systematically started in 1936. I, together with a number of others who had been in the party, and some who were formerly IWW's, rigged up a labor forum at Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue in New York, right under the nose of party headquarters, and ran that forum for 2 years, and every session of the forum was quite a blast against them. At

that time there were quite a few workers out of work who used to hang out at Union Square. They would jam the hall every time. We did a pretty good job, I would say.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Kornfeder, I believe that one section of the Russian Constitution of the Soviet Union is in the following language:

The most active and most politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other strata of toilers shall unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union * * * which shall be the directive body of all organizations and societies of toilers, both public and governmental.

You have testified that people from outside of Russia who attended those various schools located in Moscow which you have enumerated were, after a period of about 90 days, transferred into membership of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. When a man gets transferred into the Russian Communist Party, how far away is he from being a citizen of the Russian Government under this provision of the Russian Constitution?

Mr. KORNFEDER. As a member of the Russian Communist Party he would become not only a citizen but a privileged citizen.

Mr. Wood. And impliedly he renounces citizenship in any other country by accepting membership in the Russian Communist Party, does he not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I don't know of any procedure which would make that effective formally. I have no idea what law stood behind it.

Mr. Wood. Under the Russian Constitution it says:

The most active and most politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other strata of toilers shall unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union * * * which shall be the directive body of all organizations and societies of toilers, both public and governmental.

When a man gets into that party, isn't Russia the country to which he, of necessity, owes allegiance, under this provision of the constitution of the Soviet Government?

Mr. KORNFEDER. It could be so interpreted. In fact, in actuality, that is the way it would work out. However, none of us were ever offered any formal citizenship papers or went through any formality of being inducted into formal citizenship.

Mr. Wood. I understand that, but I am speaking now of a person who accepted membership in the Russian Communist Party. Does he thereby become a part of the Russian Government under the provision of the Russian Constitution which I have read?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In effect he does; yes.

Mr. Wood. I believe you testified in your estimation there are in the United States today from 900 to 1,200 citizens of this country who have been inducted into the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. They are either citizens or residents who have become citizens.

Mr. Wood. By the way, have you any evidence that the structure you have outlined here today is still maintained in Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. I think that is obvious on the face of it. When they carried through the elimination of Earl Browder, who theretofore had been unanimously acclaimed as the party leader and who was overnight eliminated, such miracles don't happen among individuals free to choose leaders. It only happens when the machine

from Moscow decided to eliminate him and the machine here carried out that decision.

Mr. WOOD. From all visible evidence today, you would give it as your opinion that the structure you have outlined in your testimony still obtains?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Definitely so.

Mr. WOOD. Have you ever had any dealings, directly or indirectly, with a party by the name of Harry Bridges?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I knew of Bridges. I knew he was in the party. I don't recall having met him at party meetings. I knew he was in the party from Earl Browder himself and from William F. Dunne, who was then a member of the central committee, and other members high up in the party. Yes; I am sure he was a member of the Communist Party at least since 1934.

Mr. WOOD. Would you therefore say that the Russian Government had any interest in the present situation that exists in Hawaii in the strike that is said to have been led by Bridges in that Territory?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I am sure they have. I think it is one of their great experiments in the art of how to use a union like the dockers to horn in and take over places like Hawaii. Of course that, I believe, is fitted into the whole of their strategy in the Pacific. I may call your attention at this time that in the last 10 years or so the Communist Party has concentrated big effort in building their organization on the West Coast and in the Northwest.

Mr. WOOD. Isn't that also true in the Canal Zone?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. From what I understand of their strategic scheme, this fits into their plans of future attacks by developing organizations in those territories through which they may decide to attack.

Mr. WOOD. Through the strategy you have outlined of isolating and surrounding before they take over?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right. I could illustrate that. You see, their whole pattern of operation, including the one we just discussed, fits into techniques of political warfare as taught in the Moscow training colleges.

Mr. WOOD. I have one further question. If I intrude too much in your private affairs you may refuse to answer. Have you a family?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I lost my family on this. I could not get them out of Russia. My wife and boy followed me to Russia 6 months after I went there, and I could never get them out. The boy was born in New York. My wife was Polish. I haven't heard anything of them since 1936. I made efforts to get them out of Russia. I asked the State Department for help. They did instruct the Ambassador to inquire into the situation, but the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs gave the Ambassador the stock answer they give in many other similar cases, that they cannot find the whereabouts of the persons complained about. And, well, that is where that ended. Of course they knew their whereabouts perfectly well, because my wife was also a member by transfer of the Russian Communist Party, and they keep a very thorough roster of where all their members are at any particular time.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, gentlemen?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. On behalf of the committee I desire to express the very deep appreciation we feel for your coming here and giving us the very voluminous information you have given us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I will want to call this witness back during these hearings for specific information.

Mr. Wood. Very well. You may be temporarily excused subject to any arrangement for further testimony which you and counsel may have.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Call Mr. Charles Copeland, please.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COPELAND. I do.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat and give the reporter your full name and address.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES EDWARD COPELAND, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BENJAMIN C. SIGAL

Mr. COPELAND. Charles Edward Copeland, 303 Silvis Street, Jeannette, Pa.

Mr. Wood. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. Will your counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. SIGAL. My name is Benjamin C. Sigal, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Sigal, I believe this is your first appearance before this committee since I have been presiding?

Mr. SIGAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. Statements to the contrary you may have heard notwithstanding, you have permission to confer with your client at any time during the progress of his testimony and give him any legal advice you may desire without consulting the Chair.

Mr. SIGAL. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Charles Copeland?

Mr. COPELAND. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. COPELAND. Jeannette, Pa., November 1910.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before the committee by virtue of a subpoena served upon you by the United States marshal for the western district of Pennsylvania?

Mr. COPELAND. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. COPELAND. Business agent of Local 601, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Briefly, what are the duties of the business agent for a local union?

Mr. COPELAND. I am responsible for all communications coming into the local and going out to the plant's grievance committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show that the committee has received a telegram from Messrs. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, Frank Panzino, Thomas Quinn, and Robert Whisner, who have been subpoenaed to appear before the committee on Wednesday

of this week. In this telegram it is alleged that these hearings will interfere with wage negotiations by local 601 with the Westinghouse Electric Co.

Mr. COPELAND. The committee does not wish to interfere, directly or indirectly, with wage negotiations between any employers and employees, so I want to ask you the question whether, in your opinion, these hearings will in any way interfere with wage negotiations now being carried on between your union and the Westinghouse Co.?

Mr. COPELAND. My personal opinion is that I don't think the hearings will in any way hurt negotiations. I think, first of all, we can prove that the overwhelming majority of members of our local union and of UE are good and true American workers. I believe the hearings will help negotiations. I believe they will help negotiations because I believe, in order to get support for wage demands from the Westinghouse Co., we have to get the support of the public, and I believe we can get the support of the public if the general public does not believe that the situation is influenced in any manner by the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you several questions about the present situation of the wage negotiations that were referred to.

Mr. Wood. Would you mind at this point ascertaining what, if any, connection he has with these wage negotiations?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the negotiating committee yourself?

Mr. COPELAND. I am a member of the national negotiating committee, representing our local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are any of the four persons whose names were signed to the telegram members of the negotiating committee?

Mr. COPELAND. What are those names again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, Frank Panzino, Thomas Quinn, and Robert Whisner.

Mr. COPELAND. None of them are members of the national negotiating committee representing local 601.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are negotiations in fact being conducted at this time between your union and the Westinghouse Co.?

Mr. COPELAND. There are no negotiations at the present time. Negotiations were broken off on July 21, I believe. I believe they were broken off on July 21. We are not now in negotiation with the company on a national contract.

Mr. Wood. You mean there have been no negotiations since the breaking off?

Mr. COPELAND. We have had no negotiations with the company on a national contract on wages since July 21.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has any date been set or discussed for the resumption of negotiations?

Mr. COPELAND. To the best of my knowledge, no; there has been no date set.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Copeland, what organizations or industries does local 601 cover?

Mr. COPELAND. Local 601 represents the check employees in the Westinghouse Electric Corp. plants located in East Pittsburgh, Nettles, Homewood, Linhart, Copper Mill Works, and Trafford, and we represent a small paint factory located in Manor.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time have you been employed by the Westinghouse Co.?

Mr. COPELAND. I have worked for the Westinghouse Co. for 19 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. And, having stated that you are an official holding an important position on the committee of the union, I presume you are a member of that local 601?

Mr. COPELAND. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member of that union?

Mr. COPELAND. Since the early part of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been the business representative or agent of local 601?

Mr. COPELAND. I was elected in December 1947, when the elections took place, and I have served in that capacity since then. I believe we were sworn in on January 10, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever held any other office in local 601 or in any other union?

Mr. COPELAND. I have held other offices in local 601.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe them?

Mr. COPELAND. I was division steward of the Trafford division in 1943, 1944, and 1945, which gave me a position and a vote on the executive board of the local union. And I was a subdivision steward of the local, representing a portion of the division, from 1938 to 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to the position of division steward entitling you to vote on the executive board, what other duties or privileges does it carry?

Mr. COPELAND. We present the grievances of all people in that particular area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the position of a division steward considered an important position in the union set-up?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does a person occupying that position have a right to either recommend or actually pass upon the discharge of personnel of the union under any circumstances?

Mr. COPELAND. Well, a division steward of the union could prefer charges, I suppose, against an individual member, but he would have to do it in line with the constitutional provisions. They would have to set up a trial and so on.

Mr. WALTER. He would not have any more authority than any other member?

Mr. COPELAND. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just what are the duties of a steward?

Mr. COPELAND. A division steward represents a division. The company has its plants broken down into operating divisions for motors, generators, plastics, foundries, and so on, and the division steward is in charge of the entire division. They have that broken down into subdivisions, and they have subdivision stewards who represent a portion of that division.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other positions than business agent and division steward in your union?

Mr. COPELAND. And subdivision steward.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. COPELAND. I signed an application blank to join the Communist Party in 1943, while attending the national convention of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the circumstances under which you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. COPELAND. I signed an application blank in a restaurant in New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the individual who recruited you into the party?

Mr. COPELAND. Frank Nestler, who was editor of the Union Generator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was he?

Mr. COPELAND. Frank Nestler, N-e-s-t-l-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Frank Nestler hold in the union, if any?

Mr. COPELAND. He was chairman of the generator committee and editor of the local union paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. And a member of local 601?

Mr. COPELAND. Sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was local union 601 which was the publisher of the Union Generator?

Mr. COPELAND. That is the official publication of our union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Frank Nestler still editor of the Union Generator?

Mr. COPELAND. No. He left and went to school and later returned and was laid off.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long ago?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say about 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings?

Mr. COPELAND. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall how many and the various locations where the meetings were held?

Mr. COPELAND. I attended about three meetings of the party, which were open meetings to the public, in the Penn-Lincoln Hotel, at Wilkinsburg; and I attended one meeting in Serbian Hall in Wilmerding, which was exclusively for party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were other members of local 601 present at those meetings?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name some among those present?

Mr. COPELAND. Myself; Frank Nestler; Thomas J. Fitzpatrick; Frank Panzino; and Robert Whisner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are any of these persons presently associated with local 601?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which ones?

Mr. COPELAND. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, who is chief steward of the local; and Frank Panzino, who is assistant chief steward of the local; and Robert Whisner, who is subdivision steward of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the duties of the chief steward of the union, as distinguished from division or subdivision steward?

Mr. COPELAND. The chief steward is elected at the beginning of the year by the stewards' council, and has the function of handling grievances.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do any of those persons hold any other office in local 601?

Mr. COPELAND. None that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is any one of those persons a member of the executive board?

Mr. COPELAND. The chairman of the stewards' council is a member of the plant's grievance committee and a member of the executive board with a vote.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would apply to Thomas J. Fitzpatrick?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the officers you named elected or appointed to the various offices you have mentioned?

Mr. COPELAND. Elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom?

Mr. COPELAND. Robert Whisner was elected by the people in his respective subdivision. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick and Frank Panzino would have been elected by the stewards' council.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the stewards' council?

Mr. COPELAND. It is broken down into operating divisions and operating sections, and each section has a representative, and so many sections have a subdivision representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many compose the council body?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say approximately 425 to 450.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say that the stewards' council in your local is under Communist control?

Mr. COPELAND. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are any of its officers Communists?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say Fitzpatrick and Panzino are party members.

Mr. WOOD. Would you mind indicating what you base that opinion on?

Mr. COPELAND. I attended party meetings they were at.

Mr. WOOD. Communist Party meetings?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. At that time you were affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. COPELAND. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you base your statement upon the fact you attended Communist Party meetings with them?

Mr. COPELAND. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has either Thomas J. Fitzpatrick or Frank Panzino stated to you at any time that they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. COPELAND. They have never come out and said they were members of the Communist Party, although it was understood. There was no discussion of it. They knew I was at meetings with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you disassociated yourself from all Communist Party activities?

Mr. COPELAND. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long ago?

Mr. COPELAND. 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1945?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that your local 601 is presently under Communist control or domination?

Mr. COPELAND. I don't think the local union is under Communist control, but they are influential in getting some of their people to meetings. I don't think anybody is too successful in getting too many members out, but they are interested in getting most of their members out at every meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are the Communist members very active in the affairs of the local union?

Mr. COPELAND. Well, the ones I know never miss a membership meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. With regard to the executive board of your union, is it, to your knowledge, under Communist control?

Mr. COPELAND. It is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any persons who are on the executive board who are active in Communist Party affairs?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say Thomas J. Fitzpatrick is active in Communist affairs. I say that because recently the executive board of the union, at the request of the veterans' committee, put a picket line around Carnegie Hall in north-side Pittsburgh, and Fitzpatrick crashed through the picket line to attend a mass meeting of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your local 601 ever dominated by the Communist Party as far as you know?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say at one time the executive board of the union had quite a few members who were members of the Communist Party or closely associated with the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your judgment of the number of members, at the present time, of local 601 who are either Communists or follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. COPELAND. I would say that approximately 200 or 300 members are active supporters of the left-wing element in the union. They may have other members who they convince, or fool, or what have you?

Mr. Wood. You say 200 or 300?

Mr. COPELAND. 200 or 300 active supporters.

Mr. Wood. How many members have you?

Mr. COPELAND. The local has approximately 13,500 members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has the Communist Party, in your opinion, provided any assistance in the advancement of the American labor movement?

Mr. COPELAND. I believe that the Communist Party is not the solution to the economic problems of the people in this country, and I certainly don't think they have added anything to the strength of organized labor. I believe the unions not under the influence of the Communist Party are getting along better with the public. I don't believe any organization that has to hide behind closed doors or pull down window blinds is helpful to anything that would be constructive. I believe the unions would be more constructive without the help of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. Have you noticed any difference in the attitude of the Communist members of your union since the recent edict of the Pope?

Mr. COPELAND. That is a pretty hard question to answer. It is pretty hard to tell whether members of our local union are Catholics or Protestants, other than those I come in close contact with who talk the situation over.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wood, the chairman of this committee, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which would make it an offense for individuals employed on national defense contracts—

(1) to become or remain a member of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party of the United States of America, or any organization which shall have been designated as subversive by the Attorney General; (2) to contribute funds or services to the Communist Party of the United States of America or to any organization which shall have been designated as subversive by the Attorney General; or (3) to advise, counsel, or urge any other individual employed in connection with the performance of any national-defense contract to perform, or to omit to perform, any act if such act or omission would constitute a violation of clause (1) or (2) of this section.

Are you familiar in a general way with that bill?

Mr. COPELAND. No; I am not familiar with it.

Mr. TAVENNER. From my reading of it to you, would you care to express an opinion or make any comments as to whether or not it would act as a deterrent to those unions who have been contributing to organizations declared subversive by the Attorney General?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. COPELAND. I would prefer to study the bill before answering that question. We have a legislative committee of the local who handles that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Let me question you on the first paragraph of the proposed legislation, which makes it unlawful for any person engaged on national defense projects to be a Communist. Do you think it is conducive to the security of this country to have a known Communist employed on a national defense project, where, in many instances, the work is of a restricted and highly confidential nature? Do you think it would be conducive to the security of this country to have that kind of person employed on such a project?

Mr. COPELAND. My personal opinion, not representing the local—

Mr. WOOD. That is what I am asking for.

Mr. COPELAND. I would say if they have definite proof a person is a member of the Communist Party, I would give different consideration to it, but in a large organization like local 601, a lot of people may follow Communist Party lines who are not members of the Communist Party. They might support them at a membership meeting not knowing what they are supporting. So, to me, to refuse to give the Westinghouse Co. orders because we may say there is a person there affiliated with the Communist Party, is unjust to the majority of the people in the local union. As a member of the union I wouldn't have any say as to whether or not a member of the union was or was not a member of the Communist Party. I wouldn't have any say on that.

Mr. WOOD. I didn't mean I wanted you to pass on that question. We are assuming proof would have to be submitted in court demonstrating that he was a Communist.

Mr. COPELAND. If we have adequate laws—I believe myself a Communist is a traitor to the country, but I believe if I, as a leader, would be found guilty of a crime, I don't think my children or neighbors should be deprived of working at Westinghouse because I am guilty of the crime. I think I should be punished and not the people I represent.

Mr. Wood. The bill provides that it shall be unlawful for a person engaged on any national defense project to become or remain a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. COPELAND. I believe in 1943, 1944, and 1945 the contract between the company and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America had a stipulation that no member should work for the company who was a member of the German Bund. That is not in the contract now.

Mr. Wood. Irrespective of contractual provisions, do you think it would be dangerous for companies having contracts of a confidential nature to employ Communists?

Mr. COPELAND. I believe Communists are traitors to the country and I don't believe they should work on secret work.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much for your presence and for the very forthright manner in which you have answered these questions.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have one further question: When were you first interviewed by an agent of this committee, the approximate date?

Mr. COPELAND. First of all I was subpoenaed to appear before the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Immigration Service, by a gentleman by the name of Benson, I believe, to testify against a former member of the union who was up for deportation. If I am not mistaken, Alvin Stokes, who is a colored man, first talked to me around February or March of this year, somewhere around that time. I can't tie the dates down, but it was around about the time they were picking up Steve Nelson for questioning.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Alvin Stokes as an investigator for this committee?

Mr. COPELAND. I knew he was an investigator for this committee whenever he appeared in our local union office.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Henry Peeler.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand, please, Mr. Peeler? Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PEELER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM HENRY PEELER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BENJAMIN C. SIGAL

Mr. Wood. Give the reporter your name and address.

Mr. PEELER. William Henry Peeler.

Mr. Wood. Your address.

Mr. PEELER. 3140 Cordelle Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel here?

Mr. PEELER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. The same counsel as the last witness?

Mr. PEELER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are William Henry Peeler?

Mr. PEELER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before this committee in compliance with a subpoena served upon you under date of August 3, 1949?

Mr. PEELER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of Local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. PEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member of local 601?

Mr. PEELER. Since the first day I was hired, 8½ years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held as an officer of local 601?

Mr. PEELER. We consider it not as officers. I have been a section steward, and a division steward, which gives you a vote on the executive board.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you held such a position?

Mr. PEELER. I held the section steward job 1 year, and this is my third year as an executive board member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. PEELER. Definitely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been approached to join the Communist Party or a Communist-affiliated organization?

Mr. PEELER. A number of times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. PEELER. I was first approached about 1945 by a girl named Dorothy Faraday, who claimed she worked as a secretary in the district. That I can't verify.

Mr. TAVENNER. As secretary of what?

Mr. PEELER. Of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what occurred? Just tell the whole story.

Mr. PEELER. I met her on the street and we began to talk. She was telling about the great things that happened to my race in America. I said: "Evidently you don't know much about it." I said: "Let's go to my house and we will talk it over."

She came to my house and talked to me and my wife, and we got friendly, and after that she made weekly visits, and every time she came she would bring a card and say: "What about signing it?"

I said no, I would not sign it. She brought numerous leaflets and pamphlets and Russian literature. I didn't seem to get of it what she thought I should, so I never became a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you approached by others to become a Communist Party member?

Mr. PEELER. Yes, at the office.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office?

Mr. PEELER. Local 601.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about that.

Mr. PEELER. A fellow there told me he wanted to talk to me. His name was Nathan Alberts. He approached me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you join?

Mr. PEELER. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what occurred on that occasion.

Mr. PEELER. Well, I was lined up with the rank-and-file group, and he came up one evening and said he would like to talk to me. He said what a bunch of reactionary boys I was associated with, and some of the things they had done to Negro members of the local.

I said I didn't see where anybody had done anything in particular for the Negro members in the plant. He said Fitzpatrick and Panzino had done a terrific job in getting Negro girls in the plant. I said, "What happened?" He said, "We got them in there." I said, "Is that part of your job?" He said, "Yes." I said, "I don't see that that is anything to yell about." He said, "Why not join the party? We are the only ones doing anything for your race." I said, "Name somebody in your party who has done something for my race."

He mentioned the incident of the Negro girls, which I mentioned before, plus a couple of other incidents where Panzino and Tom Quinn had done something for them and somebody had cut out their pictures and called them a "_____ lover," and so forth.

I said, "Anybody else?"

He named one or two others that I know and some I didn't know. I continued listening to him, and a couple times I rode home with him, and I asked him what he did in the evenings, and he said he did his party work. I asked him if he didn't do anything but work, and he said no, that he wanted to help make this a better world. I said I didn't care to have it a better world in that way. I didn't join.

Mr. TAVENNER. In his discussions with you, did he mention other members of the Communist Party in the union?

Mr. PEELER. He mentioned the two who had done the most, as he claimed, to help the Negro people. They were Tom Fitzpatrick and Frank Panzino. Another day he mentioned Ella Piazzo, a girl in the union office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Anyone else that you recall?

Mr. PEELER. I mentioned one to him, but he only knew him casually.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen evidence of Communist control of local 601, or efforts to control it, since you have been an officer of this local?

Mr. PEELER. Yes; I have seen evidence, some of it before my time and some since I was in the local. I noticed in particular, in going back through some of the minutes, we find the attitude of the executive board when it was controlled by what we call our progressives, the stand they took of calling Roosevelt a warmonger, and they went on record as absolutely against war when the Stalin-Hitler pact was in effect, and you can see in the same book the opposite stand after Hitler attacked Russia. You can see where we have made contributions to the American Slav Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the American Youth Congress, and various others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the size of the contributions made?

Mr. PEELER. They range from \$10 and \$25.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently were those contributions made?

Mr. PEELER. I looked through the minutes and saw where some years back they were made almost weekly, \$10 or \$25.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see evidence of communistic direction and influence in the calling of strikes and in the conduct of strikes?

Mr. PEELER. Well, yes; one in particular. We had quite a bit of work moved from the main plant down to Beaver.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by Beaver?

Mr. PEELER. The Beaver plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of Westinghouse?

Mr. PEELER. Yes. So when this work was moved down they wrote a grievance that the people from our plant who would be affected by the removal of that work should go with the work. In the meantime, at the Beaver plant they hired new people, and conditions got pretty bad because they couldn't get recognition, although most everybody down there had signed with UE. Westinghouse adhered to the Taft-Hartley law and refused to recognize them because they did not sign non-Communist affidavits.

We went down to check after we learned two fellows had been fired, and we couldn't even get into the plant. We made a complete committee report, and in that report I came to a standstill because I said, "The only thing holding this situation up is the fact we can't get recognition."

Mr. TAVENNER. And you could not get recognition because of the failure to sign the non-Communist affidavits?

Mr. PEELER. That is right. So at that time I made a motion that we instruct our international officers to sign non-Communist—I beg pardon, I did not say "non-Communist," I said "necessary"—affidavits, so that we might gain recognition in new plants.

Tom Fitzpatrick was president of the district at that time, and he vigorously protested.

I said, "This is the only solution I know of. Do you have any suggestion?"

He said, "Sure. They can strike."

I said, "What for?"

He said, "Well, they can strike."

I said, "And get what?"

He said, "Well, it will be a moral victory, anyway."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did a strike result?

Mr. PEELER. Yes; they had a strike, and our local contributed \$2,000 down and \$800 a week. I believe that is the exact amount. A number of other locals contributed, and the district contributed, and I assume the international union contributed, even though we knew the strike could not be won.

Mr. WOOD. What year was that?

Mr. PEELER. About 1947, August 1947.

Mr. HARRISON. It was since the Taft-Hartley law went on the books, so it would be last year or the year before.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did it cost your local union to engage in that fight?

Mr. PEELER. All told, with lost time and everything, sending committees down and donations, I would estimate around \$16,000.

Mr. HARRISON. How long were you out of work?

Mr. PEELER. It was at Beaver. I was on the committee to go down and help. But they removed me from the committee after I made that motion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Hugh Harley?

Mr. PEELER. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does he have any connection with local 601?

Mr. PEELER. He is an international representative, supposedly sent down to work on our plant guard situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Do I understand you to say that after you made the motion that the officers conform to the law with respect to recognition, that you were removed from the committee?

Mr. PEELER. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. At whose suggestion?

Mr. PEELER. A fellow named Harper. I was on two committees, and he made a motion to abolish both committees, and then they reformed both committees.

Mr. WOOD. And left you off both of them?

Mr. PEELER. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions?

Mr. HARRISON. Who is Russ Nixon?

Mr. PEELER. He is an international representative, as I understand, the Washington representative.

Mr. HARRISON. Of your union?

Mr. PEELER. Of UE.

Mr. HARRISON. He is not connected with local 601?

Mr. PEELER. On paper, no; but he has quite a bit of contact up there.

Mr. HARRISON. He seems to have a good deal to say about its affairs.

Mr. PEELER. You can say that again.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you first interviewed by an investigator of this committee relating to this matter?

Mr. PEELER. I was interviewed—I can tell you the exact date, it was the 27th of February.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. PEELER. This year. I might add I was called by a reporter from the Pittsburgh Courier, and he said: "A man was up checking our papers, and he wants to see you, and it is imperative that you call him." So I called and met Stokes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Seese.

Mr. WOOD. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SEESE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BLAIR SEESE, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BENJAMIN C. SIGAL

Mr. WOOD. Will you give the reporter your full name and address, please?

Mr. SEESE. Blair Seese, 154 Central Avenue, Turtle Creek, Pa.

Mr. WOOD. Is Mr. Sigal appearing with you also as your counsel?

Mr. SEESE. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You may confer with him at any time you desire during the course of your testimony.

Mr. SEESE. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Blair Seese?

Mr. SEESE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SEESE. I was born in a town of Dunlo, Cambria County, Pa., October 18, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you now employed?

Mr. SEESE. Westinghouse Electric Corp., at the East Pittsburgh plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before this committee by virtue of a subpena served upon you on August 3, 1949?

Mr. SEESE. I certainly am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. SEESE. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member of that local?

Mr. SEESE. Since the early part of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any office within local 601?

Mr. SEESE. I have. I held the office of division steward in 1944 and 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you at the present time hold any elective or appointive office in local 601?

Mr. SEESE. I hold a position on the sick and accident committee of local 601, which is appointed by the executive board with the approval of the membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. At one time I signed an application blank, but I never attended any meetings or took any part whatever in any of the activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who requested you to sign an application for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. Marshall Docherty and Joe Godfrey.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they officers in local 601?

Mr. SEESE. Marshall Docherty was an officer in the local at the time, but Joe Godfrey was not. He was known as an organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you relate to the committee the circumstances which led to your being requested to join the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. Well, the thing had been suggested to me at various times, but on this particular occasion I was approached by Mr. Docherty on the street in front of the union office and he asked me to go to the bar on the corner, that he had something to discuss with me.

We entered the bar and went into the back room, and this Joe Godfrey was present, and it was suggested that I sign an application blank, and they gave me reasons that by signing an application blank I could help myself politically within the local and within the labor movement.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you could advance yourself within the labor movement by becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. That is about it, and the fact that their program was the program for the working classes of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this: You stated, I believe, that you did not attend any meetings?

Mr. SEESE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay dues at any time after that?

Mr. SEESE. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately what was the date that you signed the application; the year, I mean?

Mr. SEESE. The year was 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you in any way participated in Communist Party movements or activities since that time?

Mr. SEESE. None whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider yourself in any way a member of or affiliated with the Communist Party at this time?

Mr. SEESE. I do not; absolutely.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time of your election to the executive board, was the executive board composed largely of members recognized as being members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. Well, there were people on the board at that time, in fact, the greater majority of them, who were identified from time to time as being party members, but I had no proof of any kind to substantiate that when I was elected to the executive board. But from resolutions that were passed from time to time, I could see an inkling of influence from Communist Party activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time, was Mr. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick a member of the executive board?

Mr. SEESE. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you of your own personal knowledge know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. Other than the fact that when I was in Tom Fitzpatrick's presence privately he had admitted to me that he was a member of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you observed the affairs or activities of the Communist Party being carried out in any of the offices of local 601?

Mr. SEESE. The only activities I could say were conducted in and around the office were to the extent of leaflets showing up in the union office, party-line propaganda signed by the East Pittsburgh Communist Party, and the fact there are people there who make solicitation of union members to subscribe to the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has any action been taken in your union with regard to the Communists now on trial in New York?

Mr. SEESE. I do know of petitions that were circulated to the membership in support of the 12 Communists who are on trial in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any members of the union taking part in that solicitation?

Mr. SEESE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. SEESE. They were various members at the plant who circulated the petition.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of the solicitation of subscriptions to the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker. Was that solicitation done by a member of local 601?

Mr. SEESE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

Mr. SEESE. Nathan Alberts, I know, makes solicitations, because he attempted to solicit me to take the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the Communist Party literature; do you receive it yourself through the mail?

Mr. SEESE. I have and I still do at times?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do other members of the union also receive it?

Mr. SEESE. I know other members in the local who have Communist literature mailed to their homes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are those persons, persons who are not members of the Communist Party, as well as those who are members?

Mr. SEESE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What explanation is there for members of the union who are not members of the Communist Party receiving this literature?

Mr. SEESE. I have no explanation for it other than the fact that it seems evident that by some means the membership lists of the stewards' council are available to the Communist Party, because if there are errors in the addresses of any union members, the same errors are made in sending out the Communist literature.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. Russ Nixon is not a member of local 601?

Mr. SEESE. No, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEESE. I could not answer that question.

Mr. HARRISON. Does he have access to your membership lists?

Mr. SEESE. The only way he would would be as a representative of the international office.

Mr. HARRISON. He seems to be powerfully excited about these hearings, and I wondered why.

Mr. SEESE. I noticed the release he made to the papers.

Mr. HARRISON. I wondered if you could enlighten me on that subject.

Mr. SEESE. No, sir; I couldn't.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much.

I would like you to comment on how you feel about a man who is a known member of the Communist Party being employed on a national-defense project involving work of a confidential and secret character?

Mr. SEESE. If your question is in regard to the Wood bill, I have no knowledge of the bill whatever and I wouldn't care to make an answer.

Mr. WOOD. I am not asking about a particular bill. I am asking how you feel about whether or not it is in the best interest of the security of this Nation to have known Communists employed in defense plants handling highly secretive work.

Mr. SEESE. I don't think it would be good.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stanley Glass.

Mr. WOOD. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this sub-committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GLASS. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, please. Is Mr. Sigal here representing you also?

Mr. GLASS. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. You have the privilege of conferring with him at any time you desire.

**TESTIMONY OF STANLEY E. GLASS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
BENJAMIN C. SIGAL**

Mr. WOOD. Give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. GLASS. Stanley E. Glass, 5800 Munhall Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GLASS. Charleston, W. Va.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. GLASS. May 24, 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before this committee in compliance with a subpoena served on you August 3, 1949?

Mr. GLASS. That is correct; I am appearing here having been summoned by the United States marshal. I personally am opposed to any outside investigation of trade unions or local unions. I will put it this way, that I think the people within the local should work it out through the democratic processes, and that is the chief reason we opposed the Taft-Hartley Act.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you first interviewed by an investigator of this committee?

Mr. GLASS. To the best of my knowledge it was in April 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of Local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. GLASS. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member of that local No. 601?

Mr. GLASS. Since November 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held as an officer of local No. 601?

Mr. GLASS. Steward, subdivision steward, and at present recording secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. GLASS. I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or have you ever had any Communist affiliations?

Mr. GLASS. I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been approached to join the Communist Party or any Communist-affiliated associations?

Mr. GLASS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. GLASS. In 1941 or 1942 I was working in a shop close to Thomas Fitzpatrick. I was taking him home one night and he told me what a marvelous country Soviet Russia was, and asked me to join the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What party?

Mr. GLASS. The Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been recording secretary of local No. 601?

Mr. GLASS. I was elected in the last month of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider local 601 to be under Communist Party domination?

Mr. GLASS. Absolutely not; but I think definitely the international is.

Mr. HARRISON. You think definitely what?

Mr. GLASS. That local 601 is not under the control of the Communist Party at this time, but the international is. I might add my reason for making that statement is that the right-wing forces at the

present time are in office in local 601; we are attempting to carry out an American program, and we are hampered by Communist organizers; there are about 12 in the valley. And I have just noticed that there is a possibility of the international going out of the CIO and affiliating with the World Federation of Trade Unions. Also, the recent copy of the Canadian UE News also carried an article along that line, and that George Harris, secretary of the Canadian UE, district 5, has attended the international congress in Italy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you are of the opinion that the parent organization is endeavoring to exert communistic influences on your organization?

Mr. GLASS. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. Don't you think the Federal Government has some interest in something such as that, involving a great union such as UE and a great industry?

Mr. GLASS. I think the Federal Government should spend their basic time in education along the lines of what communism means and the purposes of the Communist Party and so on.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Glass, this may not be in point, but in your wage negotiations do the local people conduct the negotiations, or are the negotiations conducted by representatives of the union sent from other places?

Mr. GLASS. In the UE different branches of the industry, such as the electrical chain, have various companies represented. For instance, the Westinghouse chain. In order to negotiate with the Westinghouse chain there is a Westinghouse conference board set up in the union. Our local has four elected national negotiators to attend the national Westinghouse board. They set the pattern of negotiations.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the district council?

Mr. GLASS. The district council is a division of the international union which takes in a territory of the international. For instance, I happen to come under district 6, which takes in the western Pennsylvania and West Virginia section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that the district council under which you come, district 6, is under Communist Party domination?

Mr. GLASS. Absolutely.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long has the Communist Party dominated this district council?

Mr. GLASS. I would say from 1939 the Communist Party has had strict control over district 6.

Mr. TAVENNER. With regard to your local union itself, that is, local 601, has there been a time when it was under Communist Party domination?

Mr. GLASS. Local 601 itself at various times is controlled by the Communist Party. It is done through their methods of approach. They themselves attempt to keep the membership away and keep in control a small centralized caucus of the progressive forces. All people who are members of the progressive forces are not members of the Communist Party, but they sure follow the Communist line.

Mr. WOOD. And they are well organized and very active?

Mr. GLASS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have there been any resolutions passed by local No. 601 that would follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. GLASS. Yes; there have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you elaborate?

Mr. GLASS. A resolution supporting the ILD—International Labor Defense—which is a Communist-front organization. A resolution calling Roosevelt a warmonger.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about a resolution in regard to Harry Bridges?

Mr. GLASS. There is one supporting Harry Bridges.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there one supporting American-Soviet friendship?

Mr. GLASS. American-Soviet friendship, absolutely.

Mr. TAVENNER. American Youth Congress?

Mr. GLASS. American Youth Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison?

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Let me interrogate you on your views with reference to the employment of known Communists in defense plants where strategic material is being handled or highly secretive work is being performed. Do you think it is conducive to the best interests of the security of this Nation to do that?

Mr. GLASS. A lot of the people who are members of the Communist Party are innocent workers. A lot of people sign cards.

Mr. WOOD. I concede they have been, but I don't concede they are now, with the information being disseminated. I think most people understand, don't you?

Mr. GLASS. I am following the CIO policy as far as the Wood bill is concerned, and I can't make a statement on that.

Mr. WOOD. Do you think it is conducive to the best interests of the country to employ known Communists in defense plants where strategic material of a highly secretive nature is being handled?

Mr. GLASS. In case of war, in case of emergency, I would say "Yes," but I think—

Mr. WOOD. We are still at war, you know.

Mr. GLASS. At war with the Communists?

Mr. WOOD. No. We are still at war. There has been no treaty. I don't believe fundamentally you and I are far apart in our thinking. Thank you. We appreciate your coming here.

The committee stands adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 4:45 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, August 10, 1949.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LABOR UNIONS—PART 1

(Local 601, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 11:20 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

Let the record show that this hearing is being conducted by a subcommittee, designated by the chairman, composed of Mr. Moulder and Mr. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are ready to proceed.

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Thomas Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Wood. You solemnly swear the evidence you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS J. FITZPATRICK

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Fitzpatrick, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. One is available if I need him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I just want to inform you that you are entitled to have counsel present with you if you desire.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes. I noticed that yesterday, and I think it is a very good procedure of the committee.

Mr. Wood. You understand, also, that you are at liberty to confer with your counsel at any time you desire during the progress of your testimony.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name and present address for the record?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, 915 Ramsey St., Wilkinsburg, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. January 15, 1903, Lord, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before the committee in accordance with a subpoena served upon you August 3, 1949?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present employment?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I am a drill press operator in the company, working for the Westinghouse Corporation in East Pittsburgh, 26 years' continuous service there. At the present time I am on a full-time union job, chief steward of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that local union 601?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please outline in chronological order the offices you have held in local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO.

(Representative McSweeney enters.)

Mr. FITZPATRICK. In 1937 or 1938, or both, I was a section steward. In 1940 and 1941, I think—this is the best of my recollection, I should be off a year—I was division steward of the generator division and in 1944 I was the president of local 601. In 1945 I was the chief steward for part of the year, and the last part of the year I was elected president of district 6. I was the president of district 6 until January of 1948, at which time I resigned as president of district 6 and was elected president of local 601 at that time and went back to 601.

In 1949 I was elected chief steward in local 601.

Mr. Chairman, I noticed that you permitted some preliminary remarks here yesterday, and I know it is the hope of a lot of people that this committee will conduct itself in a more democratic manner than it did in the past, so I would like to respectfully request an opportunity to make a few preliminary remarks.

Mr. Wood. The Chair will give you that opportunity, but not on the theory of the previous conduct of this committee. If you would like to make a few preliminary remarks, the Chair will permit you to do so, provided it is not too lengthy, because the House meets in 30 minutes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I will not filibuster.

In the hearings yesterday, us four fellows who were subpoenaed to appear today were smeared and charged with certain things, and Mr. Tavenner here read part of a telegram that we sent to you. He either consciously or unconsciously only mentioned part of that telegram. He failed to mention the fact—

Mr. Wood. If you take exception to the part he did put in, I will instruct that the entire telegram be put in the record.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

[Western Union telegram]

AUGUST 7, 1949.

Representative JOHN S. WOOD,

Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee,

Washington, D. C.

House Un-American Activities Committee has subpoenaed us four members of Westinghouse East Pittsburgh Local 601, UE-CIO to testify next Wednesday in hearing on ridiculous charges of an ACTU priest and his followers. It is vital you

understand that important elections in which we are all candidates will take place in our local union next week and that our union is in the midst of wage negotiations with the Westinghouse Electric Co. We strongly protest interference by your committee in our internal union affairs. We would like to point out that this investigation has been instigated by an ACTU priest, Rev. Charles Owen Rice, and his right-wing followers in UE local 601 in order to maintain his grasp on the local. We are informed they contacted someone on your committee and had hearings set and subpoenas issued without the knowledge of most members of the committee. We protest this scandalous use of the Un-American Activities Committee to interfere in the internal affairs of our union and aid the Westinghouse Co. in our negotiations. Now that your committee has the facts, we respectfully request that you abandon the hearings and take steps to see that your committee is never again used in this manner.

THOMAS J. FITZPATRICK,
FRANK PANZINO,
THOMAS QUINN,
ROBERT WHISNER.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. With the understanding it is in the record, I would like to make this brief statement. We are in the midst of an election in 601 and us four fellows subpoenaed for today are candidates in that election.

It was also stated here that these hearings do not harm the negotiations between the UE and the Westinghouse Co. The witness who is national negotiator from our local either does not know his job or he has deliberately misstated the facts. The negotiations started in June or ~~July~~ and went on for several weeks and were recessed. Negotiations ~~are~~ concluded and they are subject to being reopened by the union, at the call of the union.

It has come to my attention that in the last day, since these hearings became an issue, one of the vice presidents of the Westinghouse Co. has sent out a letter to all Westinghouse employees stating that regardless of what any other corporation does, Westinghouse is going to grant no wage increase this year.

Mr. Wood. You are commenting on the contents of a letter. Do you have a copy of the letter?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I do not have it here.

Mr. Wood. Would you like to insert that letter in the record?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. We will get it in your hands.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show that the witness desires to incorporate in the record at this point the letter to which he has referred, from an officer of the Westinghouse Co.¹⁴

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I would like to state that Mr. Russell went to great length yesterday to explain that these hearings were not hurriedly called, but that certain people had been contacted last April. That is true, and there was certainly time to call the hearings earlier or wait until after our election.

It is a known fact that these hearings were rigged by a Jesuit priest, Charles Owen Rice, and two members of the ACTU—Association of Catholic Trades Unionists—who contacted a member of this committee, Congressman Walter, and he referred them, I believe, to Mr. Russell, and from that point on these hearings were rigged.

I wish to state, Mr. Chairman, that the prestige of this committee has been lowered plenty, whenever they stoop to interfere in local union elections at the behest of a sectarian religious organization.

¹⁴ Witness failed to supply letter.

I would like to say that I think this committee has not only misused, but abused, the power granted to it by the Congress; and I say they have prostituted the prestige of the whole Congress by permitting this committee to be used in such manner. I would think an investigation of this action by this committee would be in order, because if there is any kind of un-American activity, I would put it in that category where a respected committee of this Congress stoops to be used by a sectarian religious organization——

Mr. Wood. We don't want any argument from you. We will listen to any statement of fact you desire to make.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. It interferes in a factional squabble in a local union. I think this committee was originated for a little better work than that.

Already these hearings bring the phony charge that it is defense work and secret work that is the basis of this investigation. The testimony yesterday gave the lie to that thing. The witnesses all agreed that local 601 is not dominated by Communists; therefore it gives a lie to this whole charge. We have a half million people in UE, and they have all been smeared by this sort of thing. All you have to do is look at the record of UE, before the war and during the war and after the war, and you will find that not one case of sabotage or disloyalty has been brought forth and proven. In addition to that, you know, and everyone else knows, that everybody on secret work has prior approval of the Army or Navy or proper agency of the Government.

I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, that I appear here today with certain people questioning my loyalty to this country. Two kinds of people meet before your committee, people who say they are good Americans, and people who act like good Americans.

I will answer all honest questions put to me, but I have no intention of joining with the people who seek to destroy the Constitution of this country, whether witnesses or anybody else. To me, the Constitution of this country is not a scrap of paper. It is something to be maintained. I have two sons. I want them to have the same freedoms and rights that I have enjoyed. If I can't leave this world a better world, I want to leave it just as good.

The Constitution of this country provides certain protection for minorities and gives the privilege for people to speak and think as they feel that they should and want to. It also gives the privilege that people can have opinions or beliefs that may be unpopular. In my opinion, it gives them the right to hold those opinions secret if they so desire. This is a protection of the first amendment to the Constitution, supplemented by the fifth amendment.

Mr. Wood. What is?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The right of the people guaranteed by the Constitution.

Mr. Wood. We are not trying to invade anybody's rights.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have read the hearings of this committee for some time, and some are pretty low.

Mr. Wood. Do you have any questions you want to ask, Mr. Tavener?

Mr. TAVENER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, in my opening remarks I gave quite a bit of my attitude on this question. I say that this committee has no right to pry into my mind.

Mr. Wood. We are not concerned with your opinion of the committee. We have asked you a simple question. Do you want to answer it or not?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I am answering it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. We don't have the time for a long dissertation.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I think I have a right to answer it in my own way.

Mr. Wood. The question can be answered "Yes" or "No," or you can decline to answer it.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Being just a common workingman, I will answer it in my own words. I don't think the committee has the right to dictate the choice of my words in answering it.

Mr. Wood. We are not attempting to do that. You may answer or decline to answer.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I will answer the question. The Constitution guarantees the right to me and every other citizen to have beliefs, whether they are popular or unpopular, and to keep them to themselves if they see fit, and I have no intention of being a party to weakening or destroying that protection in the Constitution. I feel when I take this position that I am one of the real Americans, and not like some of the phonies who appear here.

Mr. Wood. Now will you answer the question?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have answered the question.

Mr. Wood. It is not an answer at all.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is my answer.

Mr. Wood. Do you mean that is the only answer you are going to give?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is the way it has to be answered, according to my conscience.

Mr. Wood. Is that the only answer you will give to the question whether you are now or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is the only answer I can conscientiously give you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Fitzpatrick, you were present yesterday during the testimony here. You heard it stated under oath that you are a member of the Communist Party. Do you deny that accusation?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The answer to my previous question is the answer to this question. I have no intention of permitting this committee to abridge my constitutional rights on political opinions, associations, who I work with, who I meet with, what I read or think, or anything of that kind.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, in other words, you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I don't refuse to answer the question. I have answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think, out of fairness, I should read this affidavit to you, which I am going to introduce in evidence. It is an affidavit by Clarence D. Copeland, in which he says—

that he knows Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, chief steward of local No. 601, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America; that he has known the said Thomas J. Fitzpatrick for approximately the last 10 years; that sometime

during the fall of the year 1943, the said Thomas J. Fitzpatrick gave to and requested that he, the said Clarence D. Copeland, sign an application and join the Communist Party; that he, the said Clarence D. Copeland, refused to sign said application or join the said Communist Party.

Did you request that he sign an application, as stated in that affidavit?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, if you want to ask me questions about my actions of loyalty, question my loyalty, you have a right to do so and I will answer them. So far as my political opinions, I have stated my position on that. You are asking the same question in a different way. But if my memory is right, there was no such thing as a Communist Party when that affidavit is supposed to have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1943?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I think it was the Communist Political Association then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the Communist Political Association, then, that you tried to get him to join?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have given you my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you will not answer whether you did or did not solicit his membership?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I will not talk about my association and actions with people who I know, what I did, or anything else. I don't think it reflects on my loyalty or disloyalty or anything else.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Fitzpatrick, did you ever at any time during the year 1943 furnish an application blank and request Clarence D. Copeland to sign and make application for membership in the Communist Political Association or the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, do I have to give you my answer again?

Mr. Wood. I just want to know whether you did that one thing.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I say if I did or if I did not, regardless of what I did, it is not the affair of this committee to pry into this kind of action.

Mr. Wood. And for that reason do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I stand on the protection of the Constitution, the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Wood. And for those reasons decline to answer the question further?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have answered the question.

Mr. Wood. I say, do you decline to answer it further?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have no further comment on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a candidate for political office in the State of Pennsylvania in 1948?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, for the reasons that I have reiterated more than once, this committee is going beyond its powers to delve into any of my political activities, thoughts, or anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you endorsed for office by the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I don't know who endorsed who or for what. I have no intention of discussing my political actions or activities with this committee, for the reasons that I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of May 25, 1947, page 9, lists you as the signer of a statement sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress

opposing attacks on communism. Are you a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I say it is no affair of the committee what organizations I belong to. The previous answer applies.

Mr. TAVERNER. In other words, Mr. Fitzpatrick, you are just determined that you are not going to give any testimony before this committee regarding Communist activities in union 601?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I came here and I stated that if you have any questions about any actions that I have committed, I will answer. So far as my beliefs, my political activities, my associations, affiliations, what I read, those are rights guaranteed to me and every other citizen of this Nation.

Mr. Wood. That is about the fourth time you have repeated that, Mr. Fitzpatrick. You can simplify that and save time by saying on the grounds you have previously given you refuse to answer.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, if you will talk to your counsel and ask him not to ask the same question in six or seven different ways, he wouldn't be getting six or seven identical answers.

Mr. Wood. I don't mind getting six or seven identical answers, but I don't like to have six or seven repetitions of grounds for refusing to answer. Do you intend to answer the question or not? If you don't want to answer it you can decline to answer for reasons you have already given.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I know time is short, and I don't want to take up your time more than anybody else. Mr. Chairman, advise your counsel not to repeat the question.

Mr. Wood. The only way we can seek information is to ask for it.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The only way I can answer a question is to answer it when it is asked.

Mr. Wood. That is your answer?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes.

Mr. TAVERNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You made a charge against the committee that we were trying to interfere in the election of your local. May I say I have been in constant touch with men, including Father Rice and others, trying to ascertain whether a delay in the hearings would be beneficial. In other words, the committee does not want to interfere in an election. After getting all the information I could from every source I could, it was decided it was best for the hearings to proceed on the date set forth in the subpoenas. I think every member of the committee made a conscientious effort to find out the facts, and we were advised it was best for the hearings to proceed. That is the result of my own investigation.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Did your investigation show-----

Mr. Wood. The witness has no right to interrogate a member of the committee.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, I make certain allegations here.

The Congressman is inferring that what I said is not true.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Not at all. I am merely saying I made an effort, and I think every member of the committee did, to try to ascertain whether it was important to have the hearings go ahead as scheduled. We did not want to interfere with the election of the local in any way.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Certainly if you asked a murderer if he killed a man, he would deny it. Seeking information from Father Rice, who instigated this thing, certainly he would give information to further his purposes. I think the evidence will show this hearing was rigged up to serve as a sounding board for the newspapers to carry hogwash in 601, because the people running against us are bankrupt; they have no program for the people; and they are stooping to this.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. May I say it was because of a long-distance call I received from Father Rice that I made a further investigation. I was not influenced by him. I sought every source I could, and it was determined it was best for the hearings to proceed as scheduled.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The damage is done. The committee has been used.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. In what manner and how will these hearings affect your election?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The Pittsburgh newspapers will have headlines this high [indicating] distorting everything that I say here, or reporting very little of what I say here, but reporting everything the other fellows have said.

Mr. MOULDER. You haven't said anything yet that would clear you of the charges made against you.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The charges I am making are against this committee for interfering with an election.

Mr. MOULDER. How are we interfering with the election?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. By calling this hearing at this time, taking us out of circulation, and providing a sounding board for the hogwash that is going out.

Mr. MOULDER. You have been given an opportunity to deny you are a Communist, but you have refused to deny it.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The opportunity you give me is to join with you and these other witnesses who appeared here yesterday and say the Constitution is a scrap of paper and it gives no protection to the people and you fellows have a right to delve into the mind of everybody who comes here. If I was a Congressman, I wouldn't say that was an opportunity.

Mr. MOULDER. You say the hearings were rigged in order to affect your local election.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. And also to disrupt the negotiations, or have an effect on the negotiations.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you mean the hearings would reveal you are a member of the Communist Party and a candidate for election, and therefore they might affect the result? Is that what you mean?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Not at all.

Mr. MOULDER. What are you a candidate for?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Delegate to the national convention, delegate for district 6.

Mr. MOULDER. You said you had been for many years reading with interest the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I said I read some. I don't have the time to read them all, like the witness here yesterday who reads months and months and months. I have to work for a living.

Mr. MOULDER. What caused you to be so interested in the hearings of this committee in the past?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. This committee and other subcommittees of the Congress seem to make it a practice to find that it is necessary to investigate the UE just about the time there is a convention or an election—in 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Mr. MOULDER. This committee is not investigating the UE.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is what they have done in the papers.

Mr. MOULDER. You have been subpenaed before the committee and given an opportunity to clarify all these "hogwashing" charges.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have been given an opportunity to tear up the Constitution, and I refuse to do it.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you will answer questions about any acts you have committed.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Don't you feel the Congress of the United States has a right to interrogate people as to their beliefs and what is their hope for the future in those beliefs?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I think the Congress has no such rights, and I think if you will read the Constitution you will see that. Do we have thought control in the United States now? Are you going to convict people on thinking? I think maybe you fellows should read that Constitution.

Mr. MOULDER. That is what you have to do to be a good constitutional lawyer, just read the Constitution.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. Wood. You may be excused. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Frank Panzino.

Mr. Wood. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PANZINO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK PANZINO

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel here?

Mr. PANZINO. Counsel is available in case I should request it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I merely desire to inform you that you have the right to consult counsel at any time during the course of your testimony if you so desire.

Mr. PANZINO. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name and address?

Mr. PANZINO. Frank Panzino, 20-A Crothers Avenue, Turtle Creek, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. PANZINO. May 28, 1914, Braddock, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you appearing before the committee pursuant to a subpena served upon you August 3, 1949?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I will be granted the privilege of making a few preliminary remarks, the same as other witnesses?

Mr. Wood. Will you answer the question whether you are appearing voluntarily or under subpena?

Mr. PANZINO. Under subpoena.

Mr. Wood. Served when?

Mr. PANZINO. August 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. PANZINO. May I make a brief statement?

Mr. Wood. After you have been identified.

Mr. PANZINO. I am employed at the Westinghouse Corp. at East Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. PANZINO. May I make the statement now?

Mr. Wood. When you get through identifying yourself. Are you a member of local 601?

Mr. PANZINO. Yes, I am.

Mr. Wood. I think, Mr. Counsel, in fairness to the witness, we should give him an opportunity to make a very brief statement, but we will ask him to be very brief, because we have only 10 minutes. We will give him 3 minutes.

Mr. PANZINO. Thank you. I support the basic position Tom Fitzpatrick took in his preliminary discussion, and I go further to say that I resent very much that this committee has a right to question me, as an American citizen, as to my loyalty to the United States of America.

Mr. Wood. Nobody has asked you any such question.

Mr. PANZINO. There have been inferences of that sort. I think the people who should be investigated as to their loyalty to the United States of America are those people who are willing to compromise the basic principles of the Constitution, which, in my opinion, has made this Nation the greatest on earth.

I want to say that I will in no way, shape or form jeopardize or endanger the rights of the American people granted to them under the Constitution of the United States. On the contrary, I will at all times fight to see that every worker and every American citizen is granted his full rights under the Constitution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you set forth for the committee, in chronological order, the elective or appointive positions you have held in local 601?

Mr. PANZINO. In 1944 and 1945 I was the division steward of the AB division, part of the Westinghouse plant at East Pittsburgh.

In 1946 I was business agent, elected by the workers in the shop to both positions.

At present I am the assistant chief steward of local 601. I have also held various chairmanships of various committees in local 601, namely, chairman of the legislative committee, and chairman of the Generator Committee, the union publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time attended a Communist Party meeting with Tom Fitzpatrick?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Chairman, I again refer to my original remarks.

Mr. Wood. That is all right, but don't refer to them too much. Let's just answer the question.

Mr. PANZINO. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I believe——

Mr. Wood. Please concede the committee has some knowledge of the Constitution. I don't like to be lectured about what the Constitution provides. Some members of the committee have some faint knowledge of what the Constitution provides, perhaps as much as the witness. Did you attend a Communist Party meeting with Fitzpatrick? That is the question.

Mr. PANZINO. Under the first amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees the right to assembly, I believe that answers the question counsel has asked.

Mr. Wood. Do I understand you invoke the Constitution as a reason for not answering further?

Mr. PANZINO. I have answered the question.

Mr. Wood. I will ask you the question myself, and I want a forthright answer or a declination to answer. Have you at any time ever attended a Communist Party meeting with Tom Fitzpatrick?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Chairman, I again refer you to the first amendment.

Mr. Wood. I don't want to be referred to it.

Mr. PANZINO. I have answered the question.

Mr. Wood. Have you attended such a meeting?

Mr. PANZINO. I have attended many meetings, at my church——

Mr. Wood. We are not asking you about churches.

Mr. PANZINO. Any meeting I may have attended is my own personal business and my right guaranteed to me under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Wood. Certainly nobody disputes that, but as a matter of fact, did you attend such a meeting?

Mr. PANZINO. I have answered the question to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. Wood. Let me ask you this: Do you know whether or not you attended such a meeting?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Chairman, evidently you asked the question and you want to answer it.

Mr. Wood. I want you to answer it.

Mr. PANZINO. I have answered it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HARRISON. Is that your complete answer?

Mr. PANZINO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of the rights under the Constitution. What do you consider would become of the Constitution if the Communists should gain control in this country?

Mr. PANZINO. I think again, Mr. Chairman, under the fifth amendment, that is my own personal belief. I think there are enough laws in this country to take care of any subversive activities within the Nation.

Mr. Wood. Do you consider communism as a subversive activity?

Mr. PANZINO. Again I say that what I think is my own business. I will answer that among my friends, my union members, and not——

Mr. Wood. To this committee?

Mr. PANZINO. To somebody, whether it be this committee or any outside organization, that is trying to destroy the constitutional rights of the American workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended Communist Party meetings with Charles Copeland?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WOOD. If you desire to give the same answer you have given to other questions, you may do so.

Mr. PANZINO. I have answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PANZINO. Again I say that I have answered the question in my preliminary remarks.

Mr. WOOD. And that is the only answer that you desire to give?

Mr. PANZINO. That, I believe, is the correct answer to give. That is defending the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WOOD. I asked if that is all the answer you will give?

Mr. PANZINO. I say I have answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I see no value in going into other questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison, any questions?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Chairman, I think on this whole subject we should have a meeting and reach some decision before Congress adjourns.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. You heard Mr. Fitzpatrick's testimony as to the effect this hearing would have on an election to be held for the purpose of selecting delegates to the national convention. Are you a candidate for election as a delegate?

Mr. PANZINO. I am a candidate for delegate to the national convention.

Mr. MOULDER. If it were known that you were a member of the Communist Party, do you think it would affect your chances of being elected?

Mr. PANZINO. Mr. Congressman, if you knew the past history of our local union, you would know that in every election that we have there are always people who are not able to stand on their record of achievement and fighting for the workers, and who have to resort to some sort of bogeyman in order to influence the people to vote for them. This here question of communism is nothing new as far as our local union is concerned. It is nothing new. And I believe that the people who belong to the UE, and especially to local 601, will judge the candidates on the basis of their record of fighting for their grievances. And at this time I certainly feel that it may have an effect. I definitely know that it will have an effect on the wage negotiations that are going on at this particular time between the Westinghouse Co. and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. MOULDER. Instead of this hearing affecting the election adversely, it gives you and others who have been accused an opportunity to deny and refute the rumors and hogwash Mr. Fitzpatrick referred to, but you have refused to do that.

Mr. PANZINO. I have not refused. I have answered the questions to the best of my ability. I may say at the present time that I read in the press that Congressman McSweeney had said he had heard nothing of these hearings being held and if he had known, he would have felt that the hearings should be delayed until after the election.

Whether he said that or not, I don't know, but it appeared in the Pittsburgh papers.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. May I answer the gentleman?

Mr. WOOD. If the Congressman desires.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I desire to. As I explained to Mr. Fitzpatrick, I was called, and when they accused us of interfering with an election, I said I would try to secure information as to whether it would interfere with an election, and after making long-distance calls at my own expense I found it would not affect an election and there was no reason for delaying the hearings.

Mr. PANZINO. I am just relating the so-called fact that appeared in the Pittsburgh press.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. You may be excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Robert Whisner.

(Representative Velde leaves.)

Mr. WOOD. Raise your right hand. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WHISNER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT C. WHISNER

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WHISNER. I understand my counsel is in the room here, Mr. Chairman, but if I can get through this thing myself, without him, I would like to try.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all right. I merely wanted you to understand you have a right to consult counsel at any time you desire during the course of your testimony.

What is your full name?

Mr. WHISNER. Robert C. Whisner.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. WHISNER. Irwin, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WHISNER. Turtle Creek, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date?

Mr. WHISNER. August 14, 1902.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are appearing before this committee in pursuance to a subpoena served upon you August 3, 1949, is that not so?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. WHISNER. I have been employed in the Westinghouse Corp. in East Pittsburgh the past 27 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of local 601 of United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes. I have been since its inception.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member?

Mr. WHISNER. We were recognized in 1937 by the United States Government, but we were plugging for recognition a couple years before that, so I was in there since about 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you set forth in chronological order the offices, elective or appointive, you have held in local 601?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes sir. But I can't be too accurate as to dates. I was always a steward. I believe in 1943 I was recording secretary. And I served on the executive board for three consecutive years at the beginning of our organization. Right now I am subdivision steward.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a few words if it is all right with the committee.

Mr. Wood. We will be delighted to hear you. There is a quorum call and we will have to be in the House in the next 10 minutes. Will you please make it brief?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, I won't be very long.

Mr. Wood. We will give you 3 minutes.

Mr. WHISNER. All right. I get more than that from the union sometimes.

I would like to say, Mr. Chairman and fellow workers—I forgot for a minute I am not in the union hall, but Congressmen—

Mr. Wood. We appreciate the compliment because we are all workers.

Mr. WHISNER. I would like to say that I never knew anything about this hearing until, I believe it was, Wednesday, August 3, that the news report came in just as I was getting ready to go to work in the morning. In fact, it was before I got out of bed, and my boy ran in and said: "Daddy, they are talking about you on the radio."

I missed that broadcast and waited for the next one, and I heard I was subpeneaed to Washington. The Pittsburgh papers said I was subpeneaed to appear here before the Un-American Committee on Wednesday, and that they had sought us out but had been unable to get any statement from any of us people.

I say that to show the atmosphere out there. I come from a respectable family out there. My dad worked for Westinghouse 52 years. I have a brother who is a squire. My dad served on the council. This thing set us back on our heels. My kids and wife and friends have been kind of disgraced by this smear campaign. The Pittsburgh papers carry headlines like this [showing paper]. That is yesterday's paper.

Mr. HARRISON. Does that "Ex-Red leader" refer to you?

Mr. WHISNER. I guess I am one of them. There are four of us down here and we are all fighting the same battle.

Mr. Wood. You will be given an opportunity to deny that.

Mr. WHISNER. This can happen to anybody in the United States. You can be called anything, and if the courts uphold it, there is nothing an individual can do.

I told the people at the plant that everybody out there knew my political beliefs, or my political leanings. I am no right-winger. I am known as a left-winger. I have been fighting on the side of the working class, and I have been elected by 601 for practically everything I have run for.

This right-wing, in my opinion, without the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, if they didn't have the two words "Communist" and "Red," these boys would be speechless, because they would have nothing to speak about. This is the only way these boys can win this election. Believe me, this is the only way they can win this election.

I don't say you people are consciously trying to smear us, but we are being smeared.

As far as my political beliefs and affiliations are concerned, I will take the same position the other boys took. I consider I am protected by the Constitution of the United States under the first and fifth amendments.

I told the workers I was coming to this hearing, and if you asked me any honest questions, I would answer. But if you try to act like a bunch of brain specialists and delve into my beliefs, I am afraid I can't answer and live up to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Wood. You say you have been smeared. The processes set up in this committee are designed to offer you the opportunity to disclose whether or not you are a member of subversive organizations, and if you desire to answer those questions, you will be given an opportunity to do so.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. WHISNER. I want to say something about the testimony yesterday.

Mr. Wood. We heard the testimony yesterday.

Mr. WHISNER. But you linked it up with our union. You had a man who told about a world-wide plot, and you linked it up with our union. It is interfering with our union. I helped to build that union up.

Mr. Wood. How are we interfering with the union?

Mr. WHISNER. You link up a world-wide plot with local 601. You have a man who said he spent 15 years with the Kremlin, and you link it up with our hearing. The Pittsburgh papers will say we are linked up with the Kremlin.

Mr. Wood. Well, are you? Are you linked up with them?

Mr. WHISNER. What kind of an answer am I supposed to give to that? "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. Wood. We just want the truth. You say the newspapers are going to say you are linked up with the Kremlin, with the Communist Party. Are you?

Mr. WHISNER. I am linked up with the workers. As far as the Kremlin is concerned, they can take care of that.

Mr. Wood. Are you linked up with the Communist Party?

Mr. WHISNER. I will stand on my constitutional rights.

Mr. Wood. And refuse to answer it?

Mr. WHISNER. I will not refuse to answer it. I will answer it in my own way, as I did a while ago.

Mr. Wood. And is that the only way you are going to answer it?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you only one or two other questions. On April 6, 1934, you were issued a passport to travel in Europe. Will you tell us the countries in which you traveled under this passport?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, sir. I will be glad to. I have nothing to hide. I consider myself a pretty good American.

Mr. Wood. Just answer the question.

Mr. WHISNER. You asked a question. How about letting me answer it my own way?

Mr. Wood. Just state the countries.

Mr. WHISNER. Is that all you want to know?

Mr. TAVENNER. First let's find out the countries.

Mr. WHISNER. First was the United States. I had to leave the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. We assumed that.

Mr. WHISNER. We landed at Plymouth, England. Then we went through the Baltic Sea and the North Sea and the Gulf of Finland into Leningrad and the Soviet Union. Coming back we went through Germany, France, and so on.

Mr. Wood. You say "we."

Mr. WHISNER. I was a member of a trade union delegation. There were eight of us. I was elected in East Pittsburgh by workers of East Pittsburgh, and my expenses were paid to the Soviet Union by workers in the East Pittsburgh plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. What plant?

Mr. WHISNER. Westinghouse.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice your application for passport was for traveling to England and France and visiting friends. This delegation was not on a trip to visit friends, was it?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know how the application for passport came about.

Mr. Wood. You signed it, didn't you?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't remember that. If you can show me the application, I did, but I don't remember. That was in 1934. There was a depression on. I was out of a job. I was working 4 days a week and had four little kids.

Mr. Wood. I only asked if you signed the application.

Mr. WHISNER. I was in pretty bad shape, and this trip was offered to me.

Mr. Wood. We all were at that time.

Mr. WHISNER. Some didn't do so bad.

Mr. Wood. Did you sign the application?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't remember, but if you can show it to me, I will tell you if it is my signature.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the application was for permission to travel in England and France?

Mr. WHISNER. If I am not mistaken, my passport called for a lot more countries than that. I had my picture taken in Turtle Creek.

Mr. Wood. Did you put on your application that you intended to visit Russia?

Mr. WHISNER. I couldn't tell you that. I had nothing to do with that part of it. I was just a working man going to take a trip to Russia and see what was going on.

Mr. Wood. If you went to Russia or anywhere else on an application you did not sign, you were violating a criminal statute.

Mr. WHISNER. A what?

Mr. Wood. A criminal statute.

Mr. WHISNER. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should tell you that our investigators have examined the application, and it shows that the application was to travel in England and France for the purpose of visiting friends. You knew before you signed that application that you were going to Russia, didn't you?

Mr. WHISNER. That is right, and everybody in Westinghouse knew I was going to Russia. That is what it was all about. There was a meeting in the school house at Turtle Creek, and everybody knew what they were voting for, for someone to take that trip.

Mr. Wood. But the Visa Division didn't know anything except what you had on the application.

Mr. WHISNER. I didn't go personally and get it.

Mr. HARRISON. Who got it?

Mr. WHISNER. There was an organization known as Friends of the Soviet Union who got the passport for me.

Mr. HARRISON. They got it for you?

Mr. WHISNER. They obtained it and gave it to me. If there is anything wrong with the passport or visa, I don't know anything about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WHISNER. No, sir. To the best of my knowledge I never signed up anything with them. They wanted to send delegates to the Soviet Union, and I happened to be the one elected at Pittsburgh.

Mr. MOULDER. I would like to ask one question.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. You referred to a smear campaign to affect your candidacy for election as a delegate to the national convention. Do you regard the accusation of being a Communist as a smear?

Mr. WHISNER. I would say, in view of the hysteria whipped up in this country in the past few years, it wouldn't be safe for anybody to run on anything that would resemble a Communist ticket.

Mr. Wood. The committee will recess until 4 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., a recess was taken until 4 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that the following members are present: Mr. Walter, Mr. Moulder, and Mr. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to recall Mr. Whisner.

Mr. Wood. And also Mr. Harrison is here.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT C. WHISNER (Resumed), ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, DAVID SCRIBNER

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Whisner, we were asking you about your trip to Russia.

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say that you went through England and on to Russia; is that correct?

Mr. WHISNER. That is correct. I consulted my attorney during the dinner hour here, and he advised me not to say anything more about that there, because it looks like you fellows are going to try to do a job on me on the passport business, and this thing is 15 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. I can allay any fears you have on that by telling you the statute of limitations has run on any offense that might have been committed in connection with your obtaining this passport, and therefore there is no danger of self-incrimination by reason of that.

So if you would like to consult your counsel again, I would be glad to have you do so.

Mr. WHISNER. I do, if he is here.

(Witness consults counsel.)

Mr. WHISNER. My attorney says that in view of the fact you fellows appear to be going to try to make a little trouble for me here, not to go into it. I would like to say, however, that my conscience is clear on it. I have nothing to hide.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify your counsel for the record?

Mr. SCRIBNER. David Scribner.

Mr. TAVENNER. From where?

Mr. SCRIBNER. 11 East 51st Street, New York City. I would like to make it clear just what it is I did tell the witness, and that is that the witness could, if he wished, avail himself of his right of not going into this matter, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know if you understood my statement that the statute of limitations has run on any offense that might have been committed in connection with the obtaining of this passport.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I am not an expert on the statute in this matter, and I would like to suggest to the witness he can, if he wishes, rely on his constitutional right.

Mr. Wood. You understand, of course, Mr. Scribner, if, acting on that advice, the witness refuses to answer a pertinent question, you appreciate what the consequences may be?

Mr. SCRIBNER. I am cognizant of that. But a mere statement by counsel for the committee of what the law is, is at this time not sufficient for me to advise the witness.

Mr. Wood. If the witness desires additional time to confer with counsel who may be able to give him proper information, I would like to give him that opportunity.

Mr. WHISNER. You said something about penalty. What did you mean by that?

Mr. Wood. Under the law, a witness who refuses to answer a question asked him in a legislative committee that is pertinent to its inquiry is subject to be cited for contempt of Congress. I am trying to give you every opportunity to protect yourself.

Mr. SCRIBNER. Suppose we listen to the next questions, question by question, and make a determination as we go along?

Mr. Wood. Suppose you sit right there by him.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was whether or not you told us, in discussing this trip, that you went to Russia by way of England?

Mr. WHISNER. That is right. We went by boat to England.

Mr. TAVENNER. And from England where did you go?

Mr. WHISNER. Through the North Sea and the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland into Leningrad.

Mr. Wood. After leaving England, was your next stop Leningrad?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, after we left England, as far as I remember, we went right through.

(Representative Case enters.)

Mr. TAVENNER. This morning you were doubtful about your signature to the passport application. I have subpenaed from the Immigration and Naturalization Service a copy of your passport application, which I now hand you, and at the top of the second page I will

refer to an oath of allegiance which is executed by you. Is that your signature?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, I think it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was executed before the deputy clerk of the United States district court at Pittsburgh, Pa., as shown by that application; is that correct?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, I would say it was. Could I say a few words on that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir, in just a moment. I would like to introduce that application for passport in evidence, mark it "Exhibit Whisner 1."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹⁵

Mr. Wood. Did you want to make some comment on the application?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes. So far as I am concerned on that application, I didn't do anything wrong myself. I thought I was going straight to Russia, and I did. I didn't know I was supposed to go to France and England. Is that what it says there?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read it to you. The passport application recites: "I am about to go abroad temporarily and intend to return to the United States within 3 months." Then in the blank provided for the name of countries to be visited there is written in "England" and "France"; and the object of visit is stated to be "to visit friends." Now, how long a period of time did you spend on this friendly visit to London?

Mr. WHISNER. As far as that part is concerned, I don't know anything about that. That is my signature, but that was a long, long time ago. I don't know why France and England were used, because my impression was I was going straight to Russia, and I did. This all came out of an election. The whole thing was based on a trip to Soviet Russia to see what was going on. There were eight people from the United States, including myself. The whole valley knew what was going on. In fact, there was a man running against me who is now serving in the State legislature of Pennsylvania. I got more votes than he did. The man is Red Moran, a State representative in the State legislature. So I took the trip. But I had nothing to do with that there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The arrangements for you to obtain that passport were made by the Friends of the Soviet Union organization?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes. They were all made. I got a visa, I believe, cleared through the United States Government, and as far as I am concerned and know, that was a legal trip.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't have any friends in England that you desired to visit at all, did you?

Mr. WHISNER. I had a friend in England I would have liked to see, but I didn't see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't even call on him when you got there, did you?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't want you to put words in my mouth. I don't want you to try to lead me in a trap. I will be honest and answer

¹⁵ See appendix, p. 650, Whisner exhibit 1.

your questions until you go into my sacred rights under the Constitution.

Mr. WOOD. Did you make any effort to see your friend in England?

Mr. WHISNER. No. I had hoped to see him, but I didn't.

Mr. HARRISON. And that wasn't the purpose of your trip?

Mr. WHISNER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you didn't stop in France?

Mr. WHISNER. We stopped in France.

Mr. TAVENNER. I thought you said you didn't?

Mr. WHISNER. We landed in Plymouth, England. From there we went to London. From there we got on a boat and went to Leningrad. Coming back we went to Le Havre, France.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you didn't actually go to France to see friends?

Mr. WHISNER. That is correct. I didn't have friends in France.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many days did you spend in London or England?

Mr. WHISNER. Thirty-six hours, maybe.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many hours in France?

Mr. WHISNER. Not much longer than it took to go through it.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you away on this trip?

Mr. WHISNER. I think in the neighborhood of 6 weeks, but I am not sure. Remember, gentlemen, this thing happened 15 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. With the exception of the time you spent in traveling, you were in Russia?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, and I traveled around in Russia.

Mr. WALTER. Did you personally make the application for passport in the United States district court at Pittsburgh?

Mr. WHISNER. No. This thing was arranged for me, and the fellow who came out after me, I forget his name now, took me to Pittsburgh, I think to the old post-office building, and had that paper all arranged for me.

Mr. CASE. Did he have the passport application written out?

Mr. WHISNER. I couldn't recall that.

Mr. CASE. Did you make out the passport application?

Mr. WHISNER. Do you have it there?

Mr. CASE. Yes.

Mr. WHISNER. The only writing on that is my signature, isn't it?

Mr. CASE. Who filled out the answers to the questions?

Mr. WHISNER. You fellows are asking me about something that happened a long time ago. If there was any smoke connected with this, I would have thought it would have been brought up long ago, instead of waiting until the union elections come up. (Examining Exhibit Whisner 1) : I don't see any handwriting on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is typed.

Mr. WHISNER. Do you mean did I type this?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case asked you the question.

Mr. WHISNER. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. CASE. You didn't have anything to do with answering the questions in the passport?

Mr. WHISNER. No, sir. I couldn't run a typewriter if somebody paid me.

Mr. CASE. Did someone make out that application in your presence? Were you there when the answers were written in?

Mr. WHISNER. If I remember correctly, this thing was made out and I was asked to go to Pittsburgh to arrange for my trip, and I had to sign—I thought it was a passport. What do you call this, an application for passport?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WHISNER. It looks to me like it is all right. I can't see anything wrong with it except the France and England end of it.

Mr. CASE. Do you customarily sign papers like that without knowing what you are putting your signature to?

Mr. WHISNER. Certainly I don't, but the thing is this: We were living in a period of a depression, and, like I was telling you this morning, I was out of work, my electricity was cut off, they took my washing machine, and they wanted to take the linoleum off the floor. They said: "How would you like a trip to Europe?" And I said I wouldn't mind, I wasn't doing anything anyway. There was a big meeting at Turtle Creek and I was elected to make the trip. Everybody in the valley knew about it. It was in the papers.

Mr. CASE. But when you made application for passport you had to make it out or somebody had to make it out for you and ask you certain questions about your citizenship and age and questions of that character.

Mr. WHISNER. I believe they were asked me at the old post-office building in Pittsburgh, but I am not clear about it. I never thought I would hear any more about this.

Mr. CASE. You must have been asked the question as to where you were going. That is one of the questions answered on the application.

Mr. WHISNER. Isn't that on there?

Mr. CASE. Yes. The point is, on that application apparently you answered the question as to the places you expected to visit, and listed them as England and France for the purpose of visiting friends, rather than stating you expected to visit Russia. I haven't had an opportunity to examine the passport application. What I have said is based on what I have just heard. But the questions asked on a passport application are usually questions only the applicant can truthfully answer, because he is the one who is going to sign the application.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I make a suggestion. I am not fully familiar with the statute of limitations in a matter such as this, and I would very much appreciate it if an opportunity would be given to me to look into that matter so that I can advise Mr. Whisner as to what the actual score is.

Mr. WALTER. The statute has run.

Mr. SCRIBNER. The statute has run?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Two years.

Mr. MOULDER. And in addition to that, any testimony given by this witness here could not be used as a basis for prosecution.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I appreciate the statement by Congressman Walter, and if he says it is so I have no doubt about it. I think the witness has been frank, and I don't think any purpose could be served by continuing interrogation on this subject. I am not intending to take away the prerogative of this committee, but in the light of my general unfamiliarity, and in view of the fact the witness has been making

frank answers on this and everything else, I think the committee has what it needs.

Mr. CASE. If he is unfamiliar with the things to which he subscribed in that application and wants the record to show he did not himself make out the application, it would be appropriate to show who made it out for him and put in the answers which he himself says now were not true answers, namely, that he was going to France and England to visit friends.

Mr. SCRIBNER. The witness said it was so long ago he didn't recall the name of the man who brought him down, and I don't see what conceivable application this has to this inquiry.

Mr. WOOD. Maybe counsel is not familiar with the rules. Counsel has no right to make objections to questions asked. He has the right to advise his client.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness testified it was Friends of the Soviet Union who made out the application.

Mr. WOOD. The question by Mr. Case was whether he actually did the writing on the application, other than the signature.

Mr. WALTER. Did the other men who accompanied you on this trip sign the applications for their passports at the same time you signed this one?

Mr. WHISNER. No. These other people came from other parts of the country. I never saw them before or since. In fact, at that time Canada sent 11 delegates, and Mexico sent some. I believe there were 200 from all over the world. They were trade-union delegates. If I did anything wrong on this here, I didn't know anything about it. I don't believe I did, and if I had thought it was illegal I never would have taken the trip.

Mr. WOOD. You are leaving it now that that is your signature but that the typing done in the application was not done by you because you didn't use a typewriter?

Mr. WHISNER. Everything in my handwriting is mine.

Mr. WOOD. But the rest, you had nothing to do with?

Mr. WHISNER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know who did it?

Mr. WHISNER. No, I couldn't tell you.

Mr. WALTER. Did a clerk fill in the answers after asking you the questions?

Mr. WHISNER. I believe you are right about that, but it is pretty hazy. That was a long time ago. Fifteen years ago is quite a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did some member of Friends of the Soviet Union indicate the answers that should be filled in, instead of you?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't recall. Don't they ask you the questions on there and you fill them in?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I am wondering if you gave the answers or if a member of Friends of the Soviet Union answered them.

Mr. WOOD. As I remember, this morning you said somebody else, the Friends of the Soviet Union, fixed up this paper and that you signed it. Is that what you said this morning?

Mr. WHISNER. I believe I said something to that effect.

Mr. WOOD. The impression I had from your testimony this morning was that it was all filled out and all you did was sign it. Is that correct or not?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes. As I remember, all it needed was my signature to make it legal for me to go to Europe. I never took a trip to Europe before. I thought, well, I wasn't working, and the workers got up enough money to send me over there, and I think the workers contributed \$10, \$12, or \$15 a week to my wife and kids.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Whisner, your name is Robert C. Whisner?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. CASE. What is your father's name?

Mr. WHISNER. Robert R. Whisner.

Mr. CASE. Where was he born?

Mr. WHISNER. West Virginia.

Mr. CASE. Do you remember the town?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. CASE. What was it?

Mr. WHISNER. Berkeley Springs.

Mr. CASE. Where were you born?

Mr. WHISNER. Turtle Creek, Pa.

Mr. CASE. When were you born?

Mr. WHISNER. 1902.

Mr. CASE. Those are questions asked and answered in this passport application which someone must have written in here who knew those answers, and then, along with questions of that character, the passport application states, in printing, "I am about to go abroad temporarily and intend to return to the United States within," and "3 months" is filled in, then there is a place for the names of countries to be visited, and the answer is given "England, France," and a place is given for the object of the visit, and the answer is given "to visit friends."

The questions first asked, about when you were born and where you were born, are questions that would normally be asked of you.

Mr. WHISNER. Are they correct?

Mr. CASE. Apparently they are. They correspond with the answers you have just given. But whoever prepared the application must have asked you or someone who knew the answers for those answers.

Mr. WHISNER. To the best of my knowledge that was filled out in the Old Post Office Building in Pittsburgh. I am not too sure about it, but I think it was. All I did was answer questions.

Mr. CASE. Orally, and somebody filled in the answers?

Mr. WHISNER. Then I signed my name to it and took off.

Mr. CASE. When they asked where you were going to visit, you said England and France, and when they asked the object of your visit you said to visit friends.

Mr. WHISNER. I didn't say that. That was a long time ago.

Mr. CASE. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that the Friends of the Soviet Union arranged for the passport. Did they also arrange for your transportation, the cost of your trip, in part?

Mr. WHISNER. The Westinghouse workers took up a collection to send me on that trip. It was well advertised. I think I was supposed to go in April for the May Day demonstration on May 1, but they didn't raise the money in time so I went the following November. I left here in October. As far as the money is concerned from Friends of the Soviet Union, I never saw no money from them. This was \$225 or \$250.

Mr. TAVENNER. The entire program of the trip was arranged by the Friends of the Soviet Union; isn't that true?

Mr. WHISNER. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that association make any contribution to the expense of your trip?

Mr. WHISNER. I just told you that the \$225 or \$250 was collected from the workers in Westinghouse.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, but you have not said there were not additional funds made available to you for transportation expenses by Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHISNER. I didn't say there was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't say there wasn't.

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know. My impression was it was all collected in the shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you don't know to what extent part of the expense was paid by Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WHISNER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say \$225 or \$250 was raised locally, you don't mean by any organization?

Mr. WHISNER. No; workers in the shop. The thing was advertised and these people chipped in.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was not any union action?

Mr. WHISNER. No. We had no union at that time.

Mr. Wood. The funds thus collected by contributions from your fellow workers, were those funds turned over to you to purchase your ticket?

Mr. WHISNER. No. It was already bought.

Mr. Wood. By whom?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know the fellow's name.

Mr. Wood. He was a stranger to you?

Mr. WHISNER. I knew him, but I wouldn't want to implicate the guy and get him in any trouble.

Mr. Wood. Was he working at the plant?

Mr. WHISNER. No. He was a member of FSU, Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your ticket had been purchased before the money was made available from your friends at home?

Mr. WHISNER. I didn't say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say that. What are the facts?

Mr. WHISNER. They couldn't raise the money in time to send me for the May Day demonstration, so I had to wait until the fall of the year, and I went over in October. I left here in October.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was this celebration that you are speaking of?

Mr. WHISNER. Well, it is—

Mr. TAVENNER. The Red Army celebration?

Mr. WHISNER. The November 7 celebration, I think, is the anniversary of the overthrow of the Czar, and they hold a big celebration over there.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is called Revolution Day?

Mr. WHISNER. I never heard it called Revolution Day. But anyhow, I witnessed it; I saw it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to read to you a resolution adopted by the Communist Party of the United States during one of its conven-

tions, which was contained in the Communist, official organ of the Communist Party, issue of October 1931, page 832, and which states:

The Central Committee calls attention to the task assigned by the 11th Plenum of the ECCI which calls upon every member of the Communist Party to regard as a task of first importance the struggle against the war danger and the fight for the defense of the Soviet Union. As an important means to develop the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union is the building of the Friends of the Soviet Union into a mass organization. The Communist Party organizations must assist in the building of the FSU and in the organization of a workers' delegation to the November 7th celebrations, consisting chiefly of industrial workers from the basic industries.

Mr. WHISNER, when you went to the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, were you following this resolution adopted by the Communist Party of the United States in support of the resolution of the eleventh plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International?

Mr. WHISNER. What you have just read is news to me. I never heard of it before in my life. Could I say a word, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. This morning you stated you were not a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHISNER. I didn't say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you if you were a member.

Mr. WHISNER. I said I didn't think I was. I can't remember ever signing an application.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then there is some doubt in your mind as to whether or not you were a member?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is doubt?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us see if we can clear that up. I show you a leaflet which advertises a meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, in which it is stated:

Come and listen to our brothers who just returned from the Soviet Union where they were sent as delegates by their respective locals.

This leaflet contains the name of Robert Whisner, elected at a meeting called at Turtle Creek. Will you examine that and state whether or not you are still in doubt as to whether you were a member of Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WHISNER. Where does this say I was a member of Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. RUSSELL. It says you were a delegate.

Mr. WHISNER. Of course, I was a delegate. I was elected at Turtle Creek.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you ordinarily become a delegate from an organization of which you are not a member?

Mr. WHISNER. I was a delegate from Westinghouse. Are you trying to lead me into a trap? Look, I am trying to be honest with you. I took a trip to the Soviet Union, and I took it honestly. That leaflet advertises a meeting that, after we returned, was arranged to hear us speak. At that meeting, not being a very good public speaker, I didn't make much of a speech, and I folded up on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you are too modest. I think you do very well.

Mr. WHISNER. I may have improved since then.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, this leaflet says: "Auspices: New York District, Friends of the Soviet Union." And the heading says:

Come and listen to our brothers who just returned from the Soviet Union where they were sent as delegates by their respective locals.

Mr. WOOD. Maybe we can clarify this by asking the witness if the Robert Whisner mentioned there is himself.

Mr. WHISNER. I imagine it was me.

Mr. TAVENNER. It says you were a delegate from your local organization. What local organization?

Mr. WHISNER. Westinghouse. We had no union at our plant at that time. We had a couple of company unions prior to that time, but in 1934 we didn't have any union. In fact, we hardly had anybody in Westinghouse. We were in bad shape.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't there a local of Friends of the Soviet Union at that place?

Mr. WHISNER. At Turtle Creek?

Mr. TAVENNER. At Westinghouse.

Mr. WHISNER. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the leaflet in evidence; mark it "Exhibit Whisner 2."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.¹⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you another leaflet which states:

Join in the reception of our worker's delegation just returned from the Soviet Union.

It contains the name of an electrical worker, R. Whisner. This leaflet was also distributed by the New York district, Friends of the Soviet Union, and it says:

Hear reports of five persons on what they saw as delegates in the Soviet Union.

Among the five delegates your name appears.

Mr. SCRIBNER. Is that the leaflet that includes Judge Tulin?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WHISNER. To the best of my knowledge I only spoke once in Irving Plaza Hall. Is this the same meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You were in some doubt as to whether or not you were a member, and I asked you to look at that reference to your being a delegate and state whether or not you were a delegate in the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHISNER. You mean I was a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union? Is that what you are trying to establish?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what I am trying to refresh your recollection about.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Whisner, you stated a while ago you were in doubt as to whether or not you were a member of that organization. These documents are for the purpose of refreshing your recollection. After looking at them, are you still in doubt as to whether or not you were a member of that organization?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes, I am still in doubt. I don't see here that I am a member of FSU. It advertises a meeting and says I am to speak. I was in that delegation; yes.

¹⁶ See appendix, p. 650. Whisner exhibit 2.

WHISNER EXHIBIT NO. 2

Members of Trade Unions!

Members of the Socialist Party!

HEAR

Reports of

Fred Gunner

Philadelphia, Pa. Member of Socialist Party. Member of Local 706, Branch 1 of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, an A. F. of L. Union.

V. Modjesky

Pawtucket, R. I. Local Organizer of Socialist Party in Pawtucket. Member of the United Textile Workers of America.

Julius Walstad,

Claire City, South Dakota. Vice-President of the Farmers National Committee of Action. State Secretary of the United Farmers League.

Robert Whisner,

Turtle Creek, Pa. Westinghouse worker, elected at meeting called at Turtle Creek, a Westinghouse Company city.

J. W. Sheffield, Jr.

Boston, Mass. Seaman from the coalboats plying in and out of Boston.

COME AND LISTEN TO
OUR BROTHERS WHO
JUST RETURNED FROM
THE SOVIET UNION

where they were sent as Delegates
by their respective Locals.

Wednesday, December 12th

8:30 p. m.

Irving Plaza Hall

Irving Place and 15th Street

The Workers' Delegation will arrive December 11th and will leave New York City December 13th in order to make reports to their respective Locals. We have arranged this meeting, so as to enable the workers of New York City to get correct information from eyewitnesses as to conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union—in the factories and shops, as to their conditions and cultural development.

Auspices: NEW YORK DISTRICT, FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION, 799 Broadway

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO "SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

Mr. Wood. If an organization of my church would refer to me as "brother" you would infer I was a member, would you not?

Mr. WHISNER. It would seem so, but it wouldn't have to be.

Mr. WALTER. Who prepared those circulars, if you know?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know. It tells you on here, Friends of the Soviet Union. I had nothing to do with these leaflets.

Mr. Wood. But I understand you did appear at the meeting and address it?

Mr. WHISNER. I appeared at that one meeting. I think it was the next night after the boat came in.

Mr. CASE. Where is the Irving Plaza Hall? Is it in New York?

Mr. WHISNER. It is in New York. I wouldn't be able to tell you where.

Mr. CASE. Did you go to your home after your return to this country, or did you attend that meeting while you were still in New York?

Mr. WHISNER. I attended that meeting while I was still in New York, then I went home.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that leaflet in evidence, mark it "Exhibit Whisner 3."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.¹⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. I call your attention to the fact that at the bottom of each of those circulars appears the number 209. Do you know what that refers to?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know what that 209 means at all. It looks to me like a union button.

Mr. WALTER. That merely indicates it was printed in a union shop?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a union shop which prints Communist material; do you know?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your counsel made reference to this leaflet containing the name of Pat Toohey.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I made reference to Judge Tulin. He was a judge in New York at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I misunderstood you. I notice the chairman of that meeting was Pat Toohey. Is he the same person who was organizer of the Communist Party in eastern Pennsylvania; do you know?

Mr. WHISNER. I couldn't tell you. All I can tell you is that Toohey was at that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if he is the same person who was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1936, and a candidate for State treasurer of Pennsylvania on the Communist Party ticket in 1936? ¹⁸

Mr. WHISNER. No, sir. I wasn't that much interested to go into that kind of stuff.

(Representative Harrison leaves.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I now show you a copy of the magazine entitled "Soviet Russia Today," the special Lenin issue of January 1935, which, on page 19, carries a letter entitled "U. S. S. R. Points Way for American Workers." The letter appears over your name, Robert Whisner, Westinghouse Electrical Works, Turtle Creek, Pa. In this letter, in the last paragraph, the statement appears:

I am now convinced that it is the duty of every worker in the U. S. A. to defend the U. S. S. R. in every way possible, for the Soviet workers have shown us the way out.

Is that your letter?

¹⁷ See appendix, p. 650, Whisner exhibit 3.

¹⁸ The Daily Worker of September 28, 1935, p. 3, and October 11, 1935, p. 2, shows Pat Toohey as district organizer of the Communist Party, United States of America, in Philadelphia; the Daily Worker of November 3, 1936, p. 2, shows Pat Toohey as candidate for Pennsylvania State treasurer on the Communist Party ticket; the Daily Worker of November 28, 1936, p. 5, shows Pat Toohey as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

WHISNER EXHIBIT NO. 3

join in the reception of our Worker's Delegation

Just returned from the Soviet Union

Wednesday, December 12th

8:30 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL

Irving Place and 15th Street

Hear JUSTINE WISE TULIN

**speak on "SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADE UNION
DELEGATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION"**

Reports of:

Textile Worker—V. MODJESKY

(Endorsed by the Socialist Party Local of Pawtucket)

Hosiery Worker—F. GUNSSER

Electrical Worker—R. WEISNER

Seaman — J. W. SHEFFIELD

Farmer — J. WALSTAD

on what they saw as Delegates in the Soviet Union

Chairman: PAT TOOHEY

F. S. U. Balalaika Orchestra

Admission 10c

Auspices: New York District, Friends of the Soviet Union

For correct information READ and SUBSCRIBE to SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

Mr. WHISNER. Well, it is over my signature. It is not my signature, but I think I had something to do with that article, and, I tell you, my opinions today have not changed much from what they were then. I don't think we ought to be enemies with the Soviet Union. To me they were friendly people. They were working people like we are, trying to get along.

Mr. Wood. The question is, Are you the author of that letter?

Mr. WHISNER. I would say I had something to do with it, but it was a long time ago. They asked us for a statement when we came back. The date of it is what?

Mr. Wood. 1935.

Mr. WALTER. You say "they" asked for a statement. To whom do you refer?

Mr. WHISNER. The Friends of the Soviet Union asked each of us for a statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. This letter appears in a document printed in Russia?

Mr. WHISNER. No. That was printed in the United States.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I think counsel should be accurate in what he says.

Mr. Wood. He is not making a statement. He is asking the question.

Mr. SCRIBNER. It is absolutely misleading.

Mr. Wood. You may advise with your client.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I would like to advise with him, because he has been very frank—

Mr. Wood. Advise your client. We don't care to hear any arguments.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. SCRIBNER. While I was conversing with my client, the hearing reporter was taking notes.

The REPORTER. Mr. Chairman, I was making a notation that counsel was conferring with the witness.

Mr. Wood. And, Mr. Counsel, I will say for your benefit that the reporter taking this testimony is not connected with the committee.

Mr. SCRIBNER. I was not suggesting that. I was making the observation.

Mr. WHISNER. Counsel advises that this thing has taken on the proportions of a frame-up, and I will stand on my constitutional rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Wood. Just a moment. Your statement that it has taken on the proportions of a frame-up is entirely inaccurate. There is nothing of that kind. If you desire to answer the question you may do so.

Mr. WHISNER. It looks like you are trying to get me into a political discussion, and I would prefer you talk to somebody who knows more about it, because I am not too well versed in communism. All I know is that I took that trip.

Mr. Wood. Nobody knows more about whether you are the author of that article than you do.

Mr. WHISNER. I said I thought I had something to do with it. My signature is not on there. I am trying to be as honest as I can.

Mr. Wood. I believe you say, since you read it, that you still subscribe to it?

Mr. WHISNER. No. I haven't seen this book for years and years.

Mr. Wood. What about the article that is over your name?

Mr. SCRIBNER. I will advise the witness—

Mr. Wood. You may advise him.

Mr. SCRIBNER. That this is now a motion—

Mr. Wood. Advise him quietly.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. WHISNER. Under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Chairman, I don't think I will go any further with this here right now.

Mr. Wood. What "further" do you mean?

Mr. WHISNER. I won't allow you fellows to drive me into a discussion here that might incriminate me.

Mr. Wood. Is anybody trying to do that to you?

Mr. SCRIBNER. If I might say, there are 12 people under indictment now in New York for being Communists, or thinking as Communists.

Mr. Wood. You can confer with your client. I will have to ask you to leave the room if you do not observe the rules.

Mr. WHISNER. Mr. Chairman, it looks like a job is being done on me here. I don't like it.

Mr. Wood. I asked you a simple question. You can answer or decline to answer, as you see fit. Do you today subscribe to the article that has been shown to you in the magazine, over your name?

Mr. WHISNER. No; I don't subscribe to this today, because it does not fit in with the conditions today. We had 16,000,000 people unemployed at the time I was over there, and I felt the workers over there were better off than here, but now things are better here and everybody has a little more money, so I don't subscribe to it.

Mr. Wood. At that time did you subscribe to the statements contained in that article?

Mr. WHISNER. At that time there was a lot of unemployment and poverty and I didn't think there was much difference between the American worker and the Russian worker.

Mr. Wood. You have read that last paragraph?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. At that time did that reflect your sentiments?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes. I think it is the duty of everybody—

Mr. Wood. I just asked you if at that time it reflected your sentiments. Is that the way you felt about it at that time?

Mr. WHISNER. Yes.

Mr. CASE. May we have that last paragraph read?

Mr. WHISNER. Do you want me to read it?

Mr. SCRIBNER. It is in the record. I don't know why you want Mr. Whisner to read it, but it is all right.

Mr. Wood. Let Mr. Case read it.

Mr. CASE. This is the last paragraph of the letter which has been referred to over the name of Robert Whisner, Westinghouse Electrical Works, Turtle Creek, Pa.:

I am now convinced that it is the duty of every worker in the U. S. A. to defend the U. S. S. R. in every way possible, for the Soviet workers have shown us the way out.

That was your feeling about it at that time?

Mr. WHISNER. It must have been.

Mr. CASE. Do you still have that feeling?

Mr. WHISNER. I don't think we should go to war, no; if that is what you mean.

Mr. CASE. No; I didn't mean that. I am not trying to lead you into anything, nor is the committee. What we are trying to find out here is the way in which communism works and operates, and that goes back to how they may have operated to get some support here. You may or may not have been a Communist. I don't know. I am proceeding in an exploratory way and give you an opportunity to say whether or not now you feel the same way you did when you wrote that letter. You have said at that time it represented your views. In the light of your having said that, it seems to me you would want to state whether or not it represents your views now.

Mr. WHISNER. I said it must have represented my views. I can't say whether I wrote that or not. You don't have my signature there, you know.

Mr. CASE. Wouldn't you like to say now whether or not that represents your views today?

Mr. WHISNER. No; I wouldn't like to say that. We are living in a state of hysteria, and I think I am protected by the Constitution.

Mr. CASE. You think it is better for the record to show that at the time this appeared it represented your views, and as of today you don't want to disavow those views?

Mr. SCRIBNER. I think it is improper to continue this line of questions, in view of the fact this witness has stated his position under the Constitution.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, will we have a recess?

In consideration of the fact this witness, and other witnesses this morning, made very serious charges against this committee, charging the committee with interfering with union elections and trying to smear the witnesses here today, and they also said they were representing the workingmen's interests, as one member of the committee—and I am sure I am joined by all members of the committee, we are all interested in the workingman—I think the record will show I have always favored the workingman. But we are opposed to the infiltration of communism in organized labor, and wish to do everything possible to prevent Communists from taking over organized labor in this country. I would like the record to show my sentiments.

Mr. WALTER. You stated that upon your return from this trip to Russia, "we were asked to write our views." Who asked you to express your views?

Mr. WHISNER. One of the officials of FSU. I don't remember who it was. This was too long ago.

Mr. Wood. I believe counsel said he had one more question.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is an article entitled "The FSU in Action," appearing on page 21 of the December 1934 issue of Soviet Russia Today, a paragraph of which, headed "Return of the Delegation," reads as follows:

Our delegates are returning on December 11 after a 5-week stay in the Soviet Union and meetings are now being arranged for them in a number of cities. The first of these will be a welcome meeting held in New York City at Irving Plaza on December 12. All meetings for the returning delegates should be utilized for the launching of the campaign for our May 1 delegation, directions for which will be sent to the branches shortly.

Does that not refresh your recollection further as to your membership in the organization of Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WHISNER. No, sir; it does not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in a plan to speak in various cities, places other than the city of New York?

Mr. WHISNER. I never spoke in any city outside of New York and Pittsburgh, and I would like to stand on my constitutional rights here at this time and refrain from incriminating myself.

Mr. Wood. The committee has no further questions to ask you. You may be excused.

Mr. WHISNER. Can I say a few words? I would like to say for the record that I tried to do an honest job here, and I can't understand why, at this time, when our elections are going on, this thing is brought out and rehashed. It should have been done 15 years ago if something was wrong with it.

Mr. Wood. I think myself it should have been brought out 15 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the January 1935 issue of Soviet Russia Today in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Whisner 4;" and I offer the December 1934 issue of Soviet Russia Today in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Whisner 5."

Mr. Wood. Without objection, they will be received.¹⁹

The committee stands adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30. (Whereupon, at 5:10 p. m. an adjournment was taken until Thursday, August 11, 1949, at 10:30 a. m.)

¹⁹ See appendix, p. 650, Whisner exhibits 4 and 5.

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LABOR UNIONS—PART I

(Local 601, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

This hearing is being conducted today by a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Harrison, Velde, and Wood. Mr. Walter, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Wood are present.

(Representative Velde enters.)

Mr. Wood. Also Mr. Velde is present.

Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Mr. Thomas Quinn.

Mr. Wood. Will you hold up your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you give to this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. QUINN. I do.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS QUINN

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinn, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. QUINN. I have counsel available. I don't feel that I am on trial, but if the turn of events seems to indicate that, I may call for counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I merely mention it so that you may understand you have the right to consult counsel at any time you may desire in the course of your testimony.

Mr. QUINN. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. QUINN. Thomas Quinn.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your place of residence?

Mr. QUINN. 201 Beach Street, East Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. QUINN. Pittsburgh, Pa., August 10, 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you appear here as a witness before the committee in pursuance to a subpenna served on you on August 3, 1949?

Mr. QUINN. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. QUINN. I am presently employed by the International Union of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. I am on leave of absence from the Westinghouse Electric Corp.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity are you employed by the union?

Mr. QUINN. As a field organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a field organizer of the local, or of the national organization?

Mr. QUINN. The national organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you also a member of local 601?

Mr. QUINN. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a member?

Mr. QUINN. Since 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state for the record, in chronological order, the various positions that you have held in that union?

Mr. QUINN. In local 601?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. QUINN. I was a section steward from 1944 until 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other positions than the one you have mentioned in the parent organization?

Mr. QUINN. I was a district representative working in district 6 from 1947 until 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position in the Civil Rights Congress at the present time?

Mr. QUINN. I am chairman of the Western Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position in the East Pittsburgh section of the Communist Party?

Mr. QUINN. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. QUINN. I would like to make a statement along the lines that Mr. Fitzpatrick made yesterday in regard to a question of that nature. I feel that the political beliefs, opinions, and associations of the American people can be held secret if they so desire.

Mr. WOOD. And for those reasons do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. QUINN. I didn't say I was declining to answer the question. Before I do answer the question I should like to say that I support the position taken by Brother Fitzpatrick yesterday.

Mr. WOOD. Did you hear his statement yesterday?

Mr. QUINN. Yes; I did.

Mr. WOOD. Do you support it in its entirety?

Mr. QUINN. In its entirety.

Mr. WOOD. Is there anything else you want to add to it?

Mr. QUINN. No; I don't.

Mr. WOOD. Will you accept it as the expression of your views, then?

Mr. QUINN. You may. I may add I feel I have no other choice in this matter, because the defense of the Constitution, I hold sacred. I don't feel I am hiding behind the Constitution, but in this case I am standing before it, defending it, as small as I am.

Mr. WOOD. Having made that statement and subscribed to the sentiments expressed by the witness yesterday to whom you referred, will you now answer the question whether you are now or have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. QUINN. I hold that the Constitution holds sacred the rights of people—

Mr. WOOD. You have stated your position. Having enunciated your sentiments and your position, will you now answer the question whether you are now or ever have been a member of the Communist Party, or do you decline to answer?

Mr. QUINN. I decline to discuss with the committee questions of that nature.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe in the light of that answer it is not necessary to ask you any further questions relating to those matters, so I will ask you this: Do you know Mr. James J. Matles?

Mr. QUINN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does he hold in this union?

Mr. QUINN. He is director of organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the parent organization?

Mr. QUINN. For the international union.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Mr. Julius Emstak, what position does he hold, do you know?

Mr. QUINN. Secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Mr. James Lustig, what position does he hold?

Mr. QUINN. I don't know Mr. James Lustig.

Mr. WOOD. Spell it, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. L-u-s-t-i-g.

Mr. QUINN. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Mr. Steve Nelson?

Mr. QUINN. I am not.

Yesterday one of the Congressmen on the committee made the statement that people brought down here were being given an opportunity to clear themselves, as it were. I would like to say I don't feel it is an opportunity to clear myself. I feel the opportunity I am given here is a choice of clearing myself at the price of assisting this committee and destroying the Constitution, and I could not join the committee in doing that.

Mr. WOOD. You have made quite clear your position. I, for one, do not agree with it, but I appreciate your forthrightness in stating it to us.

Mr. QUINN. I think it is clear this hearing was called solely for the purpose of interfering with our election.

Mr. WOOD. I concede you have the right to have that opinion.

Mr. QUINN. The Pittsburgh papers yesterday indicated that clearly. I would like to call attention to an article that appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette yesterday. It was written by Ingrid Jewell, who is sitting back here.

Mr. WOOD. There is nothing in the newspapers that emanates from this committee.

Mr. QUINN. The thing I wanted to point out—

Mr. WOOD. You can't charge against this committee or its activities anything a newspaper says, so I am not going to permit you to read into the record anything from a newspaper.

Mr. QUINN. Very well.

Mr. WOOD. You will be excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Russell was sworn in this hearing previously?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL—Recalled

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell, as the senior investigator of this committee, did you, in the course of your investigation, arrange for the taking of several affidavits to be presented to this committee?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. The first, I believe, is the affidavit of Mr. Clarence Copeland. Do you have that affidavit?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. It was read into the record yesterday.

(The affidavit referred to was produced by the reporter.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't believe it was read in full. Will you read the affidavit into the record, please?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Westmoreland, ss:

Before me, a notary public, in and for said county and State, personally appeared Clarence D. Copeland, who, first being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say, that he is a citizen of the United States of America and a resident of the city of Jeannette, Pa.; that he knows Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, chief steward of local No. 601, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America; that he has known the said Thomas J. Fitzpatrick for approximately the last 10 years; that sometime during the fall of the year 1943, the said Thomas J. Fitzpatrick gave to and requested that he, the said Clarence D. Copeland, sign an application and join the Communist Party; that he, the said Clarence D. Copeland, refused to sign said application or join the said Communist Party.

CLARENCE D. COPELAND.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 6th day of August A. D. 1949.

[SEAL]

CARL M. SEILER,
Notary Public.

My commission expires February 1, 1953.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that affidavit in evidence and mark it exhibit Russell 4.

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.²⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. It was testified yesterday morning that Mr. Hugh Harley is the international organizer of the United Electrical, Radio

²⁰ See appendix, p. 651, Russell exhibit 4.

and Machine Workers of America. Do you have an affidavit relating to him?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whose affidavit is it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Richard W. McClellan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Erie ss:

I, Richard W. McClellan, being duly sworn, depose and say:

(1) That I was president of local 631, United Electrical Workers of America at the Erie Resistor Co.;

(2) I was elected to that office on or about January 17, 1943, and held that office until my resignation in April 1945;

(3) I was instrumental in affiliating the Erie Resistor Co. union with the UE-CIO. In my work with the UE-CIO, I became acquainted with and worked closely with Hugh Harley. Harley was an international organizer of the UE. Harley informed me that he was a member of the Communist Party and showed me his dues book as such member. At the invitation of Harley I attended meetings of the Communist cells in the city of Erie. I attended a meeting in the summer of 1943 at a house located on the southwest corner of Twenty-fifth and Pennsylvania Avenue in the second floor flat in the evening. This meeting was a meeting of the General Electric cell of the Communist Party. At the meeting was held a discussion of the party platform. Communist literature was sold and Communist dues were collected. John Nelson, the present president of local 506, who was then also a shop steward at the General Electric, was present at that meeting, took part in the discussion, bought Communist literature and paid party dues. I saw him pay the dues to a woman who was in charge of the meeting and acted as chairman.

RICHARD W. McCLELLAN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of May, 1949.

[SEAL]

JOHN W. ENGLISH,
Notary Public.

My commission expires April 27, 1953.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that affidavit in evidence and mark it exhibit Russell 5.

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.²¹

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

I would like to call now, Mr. Kornfeder.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kornfeder, you were sworn before in this hearing in connection with your previous testimony, were you not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER—Recalled

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kornfeder, you have previously testified in this hearing, have you not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mr. James J. Matles, who is an international organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you known him?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have known him since 1925?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with any Communist activities on his part?

²¹ See appendix, p. 651, Russell exhibit 5.

Mr. KORNFEDER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee just what you know of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I was a member of the district committee of the Communist Party, district No. 2, in New York State, and he was a member of the district committee at the same time with me. He was also the organization secretary of the district committee of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. WOOD. Do you remember the year or years that was?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I refer specifically to this instance to 1931 and 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position Matles holds now, if any, in the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he now holds with the union?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. He is organization secretary of the international union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what you know of the activities of Matles in the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, during my membership as a member of the district committee of the New York district, I was at the same time the general secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council, central body of all unions controlled by the Communist Party in that area, and James Matles was then a member of the leading fraction of what was then known as the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union.

The Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union was a union affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, a national labor-union front for the Communist Party.

Upon my initiative as a member of the district committee, he was assigned to be secretary of the New York committee of the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union. James Matles also had a number of other assignments. His assignments, as I remember them at this time, were to represent the district committee of the Communist Party, New York district, to a number of Communist Party fractions like the Communist Party fraction in the International Typographical Union, Local 6, I believe; and the Communist Party fraction in the food workers; and a number of other fractions of the Communist Party inside of American Federation of Labor unions and inside of unions outside of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Julius Emspak?

(Representative Moulder enters.)

Mr. KORNFEDER. I cannot say that I do not know him—

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that Mr. Moulder is present.

Mr. KORNFEDER. But I do not recall specific instances of my relations with him while I was an official of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know James Lustig?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what you know regarding his activities in the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. While I was in charge for the Communist Party of labor union activities in the New York district, there was great

need for able individuals to carry on this type of activity, so I requisitioned James Lustig, who was then active in the Bronx section of the Communist Party, and had him assigned to the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union for activity. During that entire period that I was in charge of this type of activities in the New York area, he worked under my direction.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall anything else regarding his activities in the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, he was, prior to that assignment, active in a strike of hosiery workers across the river in New Jersey, which was then led by the Communists; and I also recall him as business manager of the Hungarian Communist paper UG Elore. He also was the section organizer of the Communist Party in the Bronx.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know in what work he is now engaged?

Mr. KORNFEDER. So far as I know he is in charge of the New York district of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. A moment ago you spoke of the unions' control by the Communists. To what extent was that control exercised, and how?

Mr. KORNFEDER. At that time the Communist activities in labor unions were along two lines. One was infiltration into the American Federation of Labor, which was mostly in the form of secret Communist groups inside the local unions of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WALTER. Did those secret groups attempt to elect the officers and thereby capture control?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; to get control of the principal offices was one of the main objectives. Another activity at that time was to set up unions outside of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WALTER. I would like to direct your attention at that point to the attempted infiltration and control of the American Federation of Labor unions. How successful was that attempt?

Mr. KORNFEDER. It was successful in quite a number of instances. It was successful among the food workers and the painters, and was partly successful among some of the local unions of the building trades.

Mr. WALTER. Do you have any idea what percentage of the membership of those unions was recruited into the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The percentage of recruitment into the party was relatively small, but the recruitment of sympathizers was more successful.

Mr. WOOD. You started to say something about unions outside the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. That was in the form of a national organization then known as the Trade Union Unity League. The Trade Union Unity League was affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, which had its headquarters in Moscow. The Trade Union Unity League would organize unions independent of the American Federation of Labor along the lines of an industrial pattern, that is, to take in everybody in a plant or shop, irrespective of crafts. These were unions that were, from the ground up, set up by the initiative of the Communist Party, and that was the case with the Steel and Metal

Workers' Industrial Union, which in time became the basis for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers.

Mr. Wood. To what extent was the effort made to invade the textile industry successful?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In the textile industry they had a union known as the National Union of Textile Workers. That is the one that conducted some strikes down South. One of the most known strikes was the strike in Gastonia.

Mr. Wood. North Carolina?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Were they also connected with the disturbances in a place known as Honea Path, S. C.?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. So that from its inception, the United Electrical Workers Union was Communist-dominated?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. It was set up by them.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. Wood. While you were attending the school at Moscow—which one did you attend?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Lenin School in Moscow.

Mr. Wood. I believe you testified there were quite a large number of people, at the time you were in Moscow, training in the various schools you enumerated in your testimony the other day when you were on the stand before, and you said that quite a few of those were from America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. How long were you there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was there from October 1927 until May 1930. That is over 2½ years.

Mr. Wood. During the time you were in Russia, were there any political elections held there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes.

Mr. Wood. Were members attending these schools from other countries permitted to participate in those elections?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, they were allowed to participate in the election of delegates to the Moscow Soviet. At that time elections took place on the basis of factories, offices, and institutions, and the members of the Lenin School, that is, the trainees, had one or two delegates to the Moscow Soviet which they elected right on the premises of the Lenin School in the large assembly hall.

Mr. Wood. What is the Soviet? Does that correspond to the legislative body?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The Moscow Soviet is like a city council.

Mr. Wood. Did the trainees in those schools participate in those elections?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Actually voted in them?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Were there any elections involving the national government?

Mr. KORNFEDER. There is no direct voting for national officials of the Soviet Union. There was not at that time. The procedure there is to elect delegates to a local Soviet, and they in turn elect delegates to what you may call a state soviet, and from there on to the national soviet, and the national soviet elects what was then known as the People's Commissars, and they in turn elect the Chairman, President, and so on.

Mr. Wood. Then the delegates to the Moscow Soviet, who were chosen in the elections in which the students and trainees participated, ultimately had a voice in the selection of delegates to the State Soviet?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. And thence to the national Commissar?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Would you say, then, in view of the participation of the trainees in those schools in the elections, that they had the same rights and privileges, and exercised them, as other citizens of Russia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. They certainly did.

Mr. Wood. And did they exercise those rights and participate in those elections?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, they did.

Mr. Wood. That is all.

Mr. VELDE. Did the United States citizens who attended this Lenin school, in your opinion, contemplate returning to the United States after finishing their education?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. They were there for the purpose of returning after they received the training to which they were assigned. That was the entire purpose, to return for activity in their own countries.

Mr. VELDE. There were citizens from other countries besides the United States attending these schools, I take it?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. The idea was to conduct activities throughout the various nations?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. What were some of the subjects taught?

Mr. KORNFEDER. These schools were political warfare colleges. The subjects taught there were the doctrines of the Communist movement, based on the teachings of Karl Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and others; and the method of Communist Party organization in all its ramifications, based upon the experiences of the Communist Party in Russia and some of the other major Communist Parties in other countries; and techniques of labor union organization and infiltration; techniques of propaganda in the various fields in which Communists were supposed to be active; and also, in the last 3 months—you see, I took a full-time course—in the last 3 months the techniques of seizure of power, how to capture a city, how to organize armed groups for that purpose, what to take first in a plan to seize a city, what to do after a city is seized, and so on. Of course, in all these subjects there was very much literature available, but you were not permitted to take any of that literature out of Russia. Those, in brief, are the subjects taught there during a 3-year course.

Mr. VELDE. You recall the 5-year plan established in Russia. Were you informed as to the reasons for that plan?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, it was for the purpose of accelerating the industrialization of Russia, and especially accelerating the building of armament industries.

Mr. VELDE. I have understood that the first 5-year plan was established to educate the masses in Russia to the ways and principles of communism, and that during this 5-year plan it was thought it was necessary to have a very strong central government, in fact, a dictatorship, in order to teach the masses the doctrine of Marxism. Did I get the right impression of the 5-year plan?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No, I am afraid you did not. The teaching of the doctrine and philosophy of communism is a continuous process, every day. That is the function of all the organs of the Communist Party and of the government in Russia. The 5-year plan itself was primarily for the purpose of building industry at a very rapid pace, irrespective of what effort would be required on the part of the masses to do it, that is, even if the standard of living had to go down in order for industry to go at an accelerated pace, it was done, especially in the armament industry. The theory at that time was that the whole world is bent upon attacking Russia, and therefore everything has to be spent in armament.

Mr. VELDE. That necessarily would lead to a strong central government, in order to promote increases in industrial facilities, wouldn't it?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. The processes of centralization of government progressed during the 5-year plan. In fact, the first part of the 5-year plan was to change agriculture, abolish the individual farm holdings, and create an organization which would permit the central government to subject the farm population to their own dictates. While I was there, the result was that supplies to the cities began to dry up. Even the Lenin school began to cut down portions, because the farmers resisted, and that created a food shortage for the big cities. It was a very tragic situation at that time. That was part of the 5-year plan, centralizing agriculture in the hands of the government.

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know her; yes.

Mr. VELDE. I wonder if you feel that the Russian Government today is actually based on the Marxist principles of communism?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Marx conceived a collectivism which was much more democratic than the one that has been implanted in Russia. Of course Marx did not have to run a government, but his theoretical conception was a democratic collectivism instead of a super-centralized autocracy such as Russia actually is today.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much, Mr. Kornfeder.

Any further witnesses?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell.

Mr. Chairman, I thought it would be well to place in the record in this hearing certain testimony that has been previously presented to this committee, and material which is in our file, regarding James J. Matles, Julius Emspak, and James Lustig.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL—Recalled

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us a résumé of the information contained in our files and in previous hearings before this committee with regard to James J. Matles?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

References to James J. Matles will be found on pages 42, 88, 104, 165, and 183 of report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

References to Mr. Matles will also be found by on pages 145, 153, 170, 176, 177, 200, 219, and 226 of the hearings regarding communism in labor unions in the United States.

A leaflet entitled, "To the Delegates to the Emergency Peace Mobilization," lists James J. Matles as a member of the national council of that organization. The Emergency Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311.

In this same Report No. 1311, the special committee revealed that the Daily Worker, the Communist newspaper, "over a period of 20 years has published a larger volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterances than any other publication ever known in this country." The December 6, 1933, March 21, 1934, and June 9, 1937, issues of the publication contain articles written by Mr. Matles.

New Order of March 1938, page 8, lists Mr. Matles as a member of the International Workers Order, an organization which has twice been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (reports of January 3, 1940, and June 25, 1942). Attorney General Biddle called the organization "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The organization was also cited by Attorney General Clark as subversive and Communist in lists furnished to the Loyalty Review Board, which were released to the press on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

In 1933, James Matles, secretary of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, was reported to have endorsed the Communist Party program. This claim was made in an article which appeared in the Daily Worker of November 6, 1933, page 2.

In testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on August 13, 1938, John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, charged that James Matles was a Communist.

On page 219 of the hearings regarding communism in labor unions, Mr. Salvatore M. Vottis, a former Communist, testified under oath that Mr. Matles was a member of the Communist Party.

That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you proceed with your résumé as to Mr. Julius Emspak?

Mr. RUSSELL. In sworn testimony of Salvatore M. Vottis before this committee during the hearings regarding communism in labor unions, he made the following statement concerning Julius Emspak and James Matles:

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your opinion that James Matles and Julius Emspak are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes; they both are members of the party, to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. You sat in meetings with them?

Mr. VOTTIS. I sat in meetings with them. They have met in my home as members of the Communist Party. (See hearings regarding communism in labor unions, p. 219.)

Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, contains a chapter dealing with the activities of Julius Emfspak, secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, beginning on page 103.

Julius Emfspak has been affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as one of the signers of a statement sponsored by that organization which hailed the War Department order on commissions for Communists. (See Daily Worker of March 18, 1945, p. 2.)

The congressional Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as being among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Rept. No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

In a report dated March 29, 1944, page 50, of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, it was stated that—

There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.

Attorney General Francis Biddle cited this group as—

part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *. (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940 * * *. The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation. (See Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.)

Attorney General Tom Clark cited this group as subversive and Communist in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board, which were released to the press on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

According to the Daily Worker of March 5, 1946, Emfspak was one of the sponsors of the Win-the-Peace Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946.

Win-the-Peace Conference or National Committee to Win the Peace was cited by Attorney General Tom Clark as subversive and Communist in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board, which were released to the press on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Julius Emfspak was one of the signers of the telegram sent to President Roosevelt by the Joint Committee for Trade-Union Rights in behalf of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, defendants. (See Daily Worker of November 11, 1940, pp. 1 and 5.)

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Joint Committee for Trade-Union Rights as a "Communist front which, jointly with the International Labor Defense, supported and defended Communist Party leaders of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union when they were serving prison terms." (Report dated March 29, 1944, p. 102.)

A letterhead, dated September 3, 1938, lists Julius Emfspak as one of the sponsors of the American Relief Ship for Spain.

The American Relief Ship for Spain was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "one of the several Communist Party front enterprises which raised funds for loyalist Spain (or rather raised funds for the Communist end of that civil war)" (Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102).

Both a letterhead of September 28, 1939, and an undated circular list Emspak as a member of the labor advisory committee of the Consumers Union, an organization which was "founded in the winter of 1935-36 and grew directly out of a strike at Consumers Research. The Communist Party looked upon Arthur Kallet, founder of the Consumers Union, as its chief representative in the party's effort to exploit the grievances of consumers" (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities).

In testimony of Mr. Walter S. Steele before the Committee on Un-American Activities, in July 1947, page 14, we find Julius Emppak listed as one of the initiators of the National Congress on Civil Rights on April 27-28, 1946, at which the civil-rights congress was born. In the committee's report on the civil-rights congress we find the following reference to Julius Emppak:

Member, initiating committee of Civil-Rights Congress; cited by Louis F. Budenz as "Comrade Juniper," a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America, in 1947; sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization and its successor, the Win-the-Peace Conference.

Attorney General Tom Clark cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in lists furnished to the Loyalty Review Board, which were released to the press on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The congressional Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations—International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—"dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it." (Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19.)

Mr. Emppak is referred to on pages 145, 149, 151, 152, 153, 170, 172, 176, 195, 215, 217, 219 of hearings regarding communism in labor unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed as to James Lustig?

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1931 James Lustig was the Communist Party candidate for alderman, Twenty-fifth District, Bronx County, N. Y., according to the Daily Worker of November 3, 1931, page 6. Reference to his candidacy also appeared in the October 30, 1931 issue of this same publication, page 2. According to the Daily Worker of November 6, 1933, page 2, James Lustig, as organizer of the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union, endorsed the Communist Party program.

James Lustig protested banning the Communist Party, according to the Daily Worker of March 20, 1947, page 7. He participated in a demonstration for Communist defendants held for deportation, according to the March 5, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker, page 2.

James Lustig was a member of the United May Day Provisional Committee in 1938, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 19, 1938, page

4; he was a member of the United May Day Provisional Committee in 1939, according to *An American Holiday, May Day 1939*, page 2:

The May Day parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength.

Ferdinand Smith, high in the circles of the Communist Party, was a—member of the United May Day Provisional Committee in 1939 * * * (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 179).

The call to the United May Day Conference was signed by James Lustig, according to the *Daily Worker* of March 19, 1938, page 4. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, pages 124 and 139, found that the United May Day Conference was "engineered by the Communist Party for its 1937 May Day demonstrations" and also organized by the party in 1938.

A leaflet entitled "Invitation to Second United May Day Conference, April 20, 1940," which was held at Webster Hall, 119 East Eleventh Street, New York City, lists James Lustig as a member of the United May Day Committee. The United May Day Committee was cited by Attorney General Clark in lists prepared by him for use of the Loyalty Review Board as subversive and among affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America (press release of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, dated December 4, 1947).

James Lustig was one of the endorsers of the Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade Committee, according to the *Daily Worker* of May 16, 1938, page 2. The Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade (1938) was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in the report of March 29, 1944, page 83:

Reference to reports made by James Lustig, district organizer for New York and northern New Jersey, at the annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers in Cleveland is noted in the *Daily Worker* of September 7, 1940, page 3.

James Lustig was one of the signers of a letter to President Roosevelt, issued by the Trade Committee to Free Earl Browder, a division of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, according to the *Daily Worker* of February 5, 1942, pages 1 and 4:

When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, Special Committee on Un-American Activities.)

The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as a Communist organization by Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

A list which was submitted by Helen Bryan, executive secretary of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, on February 26, 1946, lists James Lustig as a member of the executive board of the organization. He was a speaker at a meeting of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee held in Los Angeles, as shown in the *Daily People's World* of August 22, 1947, page 2. Reference to his affiliation with this organization is noted in a biographical sketch which appeared in the *Daily Worker* of June 16, 1948, page 11, which was accompanied by his photograph.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a Communist front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American

Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, page 174; the organization has been cited by Attorney General Clark as subversive and Communist (press releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, dated December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

On March 29, 1946, the chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and on April 16, 1946, the executive secretary and members of the executive board were cited for contempt of Congress by the House of Representatives for refusal to produce records of the organization. All were convicted in Federal court on June 27, 1947.

James Lustig was a speaker at the Jefferson School of Social Science, as shown in the Daily Worker of December 18, 1947, page 4:

At the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, p. 150).

The Jefferson School of Social Science has been cited as "an adjunct of the Communist Party" by Attorney General Clark (press release of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, dated December 4, 1947).

A photostatic copy of a letter dated November 16, 1945, which was signed by James Lustig, gives endorsement to the application of the People's Radio Foundation, Inc., for an FM broadcasting license. In connection with this endorsement, James Lustig signed the letter as president of the National Council of Hungarian-American Trade Unionists, affiliated with the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy.

Both the People's Radio Foundation, Inc., and the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy have been cited by Attorney General Clark as subversive and Communist organizations (press releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, dated December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

James Lustig was the winner of a contest for selling subscriptions to the Daily Worker as shown in the August 27, 1926, issue of this publication, page 4. His address was given as New York City. He sent greetings to this publication on its eighth anniversary, according to the January 2, 1932, issue, page 5. The January 16, 1939, issue of the Daily Worker, page 3, carried his greetings to the Sunday Worker (Sunday edition of the Daily Worker). He was identified in this connection as business representative, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers. Photographs of James Lustig appeared in the Daily Worker issues of April 12, 1938, page 3, and September 18, 1941, page 5.

The Daily Worker has been cited as the chief journalistic mouth-piece of the Communist Party in reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

An official program of the American People's Meeting lists James Lustig as one of the sponsors. The American People's Meeting was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front in report 1311, page 106.

References to James Lustig appear in the testimony of John P. Frey, president of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on August 13, 1938. These references follow:

Mr. FREY. With regard to the United Radio, Electrical, and Machine Workers Union, CIO affiliate, this organization has on its pay roll a number of Communist leaders.

A preliminary check-up of this union lists some of the Communists who are officially connected with this organization * * * James Lustig, Brooklyn, N.Y., organizer * * *.

I have here a copy of a circular issued by the Communist Party in San Francisco in connection with the general strike in that city.

The provisional committee for support of the San Francisco general strike was largely made up of Communists * * *. The members of the Communist Party who issued this circular in connection with the support of the general strike are: * * * J. Lustig—this is the Lustig who has replaced Sentner in Newton, Iowa * * * (public hearings, vol. 1, pp. 106 and 271).

In connection with his testimony, Mr. Frey submitted certain records, in which the following reference to James Lustig appears:

James Lustig, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Organizer for district No. 4, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union, which is the CIO outfit.

Lustig was a former national officer of the Steel and Metal Workers Independent Union, an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League, which was organized and controlled by the Communist Party under William Z. Foster. Left New York August 6 to take charge of Maytag strike (public hearings, vol. 1, p. 127).

In testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on April 23, 1940, concerning various unions, Thomas Humphrey O'Shea made the following reference to James Lustig:

Mr. O'SHEA. * * * As a matter of fact the principal officer of his group * * * in New York City * * * is a man by the name of Lustig. Now, Lustig was at one time organizer in the Bronx, one of the biggest sections, 1,500 Communists, prior to going in and becoming a functionary in the trade-union field.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean section organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. O'SHEA. Section organizer for the Communist Party. And he had the official position—I think you will find that in the public records—and he is now regional director of New York * * * (public hearings, vol. XIII, p. 7945).

On July 25, 1947, James Joseph Conroy, business agent of local 1237 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities concerning communism in labor unions in the United States. In the course of his testimony, he referred to James Lustig, as follows:

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, do you know James Lustig, who is an international officer of UE?

Mr. CONROY. I know James Lustig. He is not an international representative of the union. He is a district representative. * * * He is a district representative of district 4.

Mr. STRIFLING. Is James Lustig a member of the Communist Party?

MR. STRICKLING. Is James Easton here?

MR. CONROY. Yes, sir, he is.
MR. STRIPLING. How do you know that?

Mr. CONROY. I attended party meetings with him (hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 25, 1947, pp. 195-196).

On July 21, 1947, Walter S. Steele, chairman of the national security committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies, and managing editor of the National Republic magazine, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities concerning activity in the United States of the Communist Party. In his testimony, Mr. Steele referred to James Lustig, as follows:

Mr. STEELE. Joint Conference Against Intervention in Greece was formed in answer to the call of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship at a meeting held in the Capitol Hotel in New York City on March 18, 1947. * * * The continuation committee is composed of * * * James Lustig (CIO United Electrical Workers) (hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, p. 131).

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian" in report 1311, dated March 29, 1944, page 156. The organization has been cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist—press releases of the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Russell, I would like to get you to offer in evidence the testimony of J. B. Matthews before the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on September 29, 1948, relating to Matles and others, which I will not ask you to read, but simply file, and mark it "Russell exhibit 6."

Mr. Wood. It will be received.²²

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. Wood. The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

²² See appendix, p. 651, Russell exhibit 6.

APPENDIX

Exhibits received during testimony of August 9, 10, and 11, and retained in the files of the committee.

Russell:

- Exhibit No. 1. Letter dated November 1, 1948, from United States Atomic Energy Commission to Charles E. Wilson, president, General Electric Co.
- Exhibit No. 2. New Times, January 1, 1949, article The American Electrical Workers' Union and Its Enemies, page 30.
- Exhibit No. 3. Copy of Informal Memorandum of F. Dickinson Letts, judge, dated April 25, 1949.

Kornfeder:

- Exhibit No. 1. Article entitled "International Committee in Action," by Earl R. Browder, The Worker, April 7, 1923, page 4.
- Exhibit No. 2. Article entitled "The New Open Shop Drive," by Joseph Zack, The Daily Worker, May 14, 1927, pages 3 and 7.
- Exhibit No. 3. Article entitled "The New Open Shop Drive," by Joseph Zack, The Daily Worker, May 28, 1927, page 3.
- Exhibit No. 4. Sketches showing Workers Party Convention delegates, The Daily Worker, September 6, 1927, page 5.
- Exhibit No. 5. Statement of Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, May 12, 1929, Hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, volume II, page 7127.
- Exhibit No. 6. Article entitled "Against the Labor Party," by Joseph Zack, The Communist, January 1930, pages 67-80.
- Exhibit No. 7. Article entitled "The Era of Partners," by Joseph Zack, The Communist, March 1930, pages 257-267.
- Exhibit No. 8. Article entitled "Place the Party on a War Footing," by Earl Browder, The Communist, July 1932, pages 590-605.
- Exhibit No. 9. Article entitled "The Trade-Unions in New York and the Unemployed," by J. Zack, The Daily Worker, March 1, 1933, page 4.
- Exhibit No. 10. Leaflet, Trade-Union Conference for United Action, August 26-27, 1933.
- Exhibit No. 11. The Communist, February 1934, pages 207 to 217, article entitled "How to Apply the Open Letter," by Joseph Zack.
- Exhibit No. 12. The Communist, April 1934, pages 356 to 362, article entitled "The Line Is Correct—To Realize It Organizationally Is the Central Problem," by Joseph Zack.

Whisner:

- Exhibit No. 1: Photostat of passport application of Robert C. Whisner, executed April 4, 1934.
- Exhibit No. 2: Leaflet advertising meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, under auspices New York District, Friends of the Soviet Union, listing Robert Whisner as a speaker. (Reproduced in text.)
- Exhibit No. 3: Leaflet advertising meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, under auspices New York District, Friends of the Soviet Union, listing R. Weisner as one who would report on what he saw as a delegate in the Soviet Union. (Reproduced in text.)
- Exhibit No. 4: Article, U. S. S. R. Points Way for American Workers, by Robert Whisner. Soviet Russia Today, January 1935, page 19.
- Exhibit No. 5: Article, The FSU in Action, by Bella Phillips. Soviet Russia Today, December 1934, page 21.

Russell:

Exhibit No. 4: Affidavit of Clarence D. Copeland.

Exhibit No. 5: Affidavit of Richard W. McClellan.

Exhibit No. 6: Testimony of J. B. Matthews before House Education and Labor Subcommittee, September 29, 1948. (Printed in full following list of exhibits.)

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, having between six and seven hundred thousand members, is the largest Communist-dominated organization in the American labor movement.

This vast segment of American labor, together with their dependents, make up a group of some 2,000,000 persons. They have economic interests which are vitally affected by the fact that this union is under Communist control.

Incredible as it may seem, they are to a great extent at the mercy of a Hungarian-born, alien Communist.

This man is James Matles. His title is UE Director of Organization.

Assisting Matles in this Communist control are roughly 450 Communist Party members or ardent fellow travelers.

These men, whom I shall presently name, follow both the Communist Party "line" and the orders of James Matles with complete fidelity. I shall submit their records to the committee.

How an organization representing the interests of so many loyal citizens can be dominated by a numerically insignificant group of Communists will be a profound mystery to all but those who have been initiated into the techniques of Communist control.

A group of Communists anywhere, outside Soviet Russia and its captive states, is synonymous with a fifth column. The Communist leadership of the UERMWA is a fifth column which reaches into some of the most important sections of the American industrial establishment.

The UERMWA has Nation-wide bargaining relations with such giants as Westinghouse Electric Corp., General Motors Corp., General Electric Co., Radio Corporation of America, and Sylvania Electrical Products.

The fraud by which the Communists took over control of the union in the General Electric plant at Schenectady, N. Y., is illustrative of some of their unscrupulous tactics.

In May 1935, Israel Amter, then New York State chairman of the Communist Party, went to Schenectady where he gathered a small group of GE employees and local Communists together, to confer on strategy.

At this meeting Amter appointed Sadie Doran, local Communist Party organizer, to direct the strategy of taking over the union in the GE plant. She was in Schenectady until late in 1936 when the party sent Dorothy Loeb and Joseph Klein to replace her. In recent years, Dorothy Loeb has written the labor news column of the Daily Worker.

Later on, it has been learned from competent witnesses, the Schenectady Communists were told that they would receive their instructions on union matters from James Matles. In 1936, the Communist Party strength in Schenectady was a half dozen active members, and the union had enrolled between 250 and 300 members. A half dozen obscure employees set about to pit their strength against a billion-dollar corporation.

After learning that approximately 3,500 dues-paying union members would be required before the NLRB in Washington would authorize a collective bargaining election, the half dozen Communist zealots sat down night after night to make out that many fraudulent union cards and dues receipts. They simply copied names and addresses from the telephone directories of the vicinity.

The NLRB then sent a representative to Schenectady from Washington. This representative took a casual glance at the fraudulent cards and ordered an election. The Communists won the election, and from that time to the present day they have dominated the union local at the GE plant—local 301 which at times has reached a membership as high as 27,000.

There is evidence that the same kind of fraud was practised elsewhere in the country by the Communists.

UE Local 301 at Schenectady is looked upon as something of the "mother local" throughout the UERMWA. Reliable witnesses report that the Communist Party has pursued a course of relentless determination to retain control of the local regardless of cost, having sent in scores of organizers and spent thousands of

dollars whenever its grip seemed threatened. Probably no other industrial plant in the United States is more important to the national defense than the GE plant at Schenectady.

Like all Communist-controlled unions, the UERMWA toes the Kremlin line on all questions. It has never been guilty of a deviation, however slight.

In the early days of the union, the Communist Party's American League Against War and Fascism represented the foreign policy of Moscow's Politburo. The UERMWA gave its whole-hearted support to the league, urging its locals to participate actively in its agitation and propaganda. The first point in the program of the American League Against War and Fascism read as follows:

"To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes."

The significance for national defense of the UERMWA's commitment to that kind of treason is at once apparent.

Late in 1937, the Communist Party "line" shifted to what it called "collective security of the democracies against fascism." At that time, the American League Against War and Fascism became the American League for Peace and Democracy, and all talk of stopping manufacture by political strikes was dropped. The UERMWA, with complete servility, shifted its position to conform with the new Communist Party "line." The UE News, whose editor is Julius Einspak, has always been a mere echo of the Daily Worker.

The American Communists were quite unprepared by Moscow for the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact by the beaming Molotov and Ribbentrop in August 1939. Nevertheless, they proceeded to bury the American League for Peace and Democracy without the usual respect which is accorded the dead. They went over to the new foreign policy of Ribbentrop. The UE News and Einspak, Matles and company went along obediently with Molotov and Ribbentrop. The new UERMWA and Communist Party slogans were "The Yanks Are Not Coming," and "No Convoys, No AEF." UE locals across the country adopted these slogans and passed resolutions in conformity with them. The new foreign policy culminated in September 1940, in the formation of the American Peace Mobilization. The White House was picketed and Wall Street was cursed with the old fervor. The UE leadership gave overwhelming evidence of its fifth column character.

On June 22, 1941, everything changed once more. The UE News shrieked a war-mongering patriotism. So did the Daily Worker. The UERMWA formally pledged a "No strike" policy and held labor-management conferences on all-out production.

In the middle of 1942, the Communist Party received instructions from the Kremlin to begin Nation-wide agitation for a "second front." UE leaders and many locals began to flood the White House with demands for a second front, without the slightest regard for our military readiness. The sole consideration was the new set of instructions dictated by Moscow.

The conclusion of the war brought a new agitation calculated to serve the interests of the Soviet Foreign Office. This time the slogan was "Bring the boys home." Once more the UE leadership was weighed in the Bolshevik balance and found not wanting.

Today the UE leadership has pitched its tents in the Wallace-Communist camp. UE general president, Albert J. Fitzgerald, presided at the Philadelphia convention of the Progressive Party. UE leaders in many parts of the country are running for office this year on the Progressive Party ticket. The UE News is currently devoting many pages to news and pictures of the fifth-columnist party.

It will come as a surprise to some to learn that the UE News, official organ of the UERMWA, is not published by the union but by the Trade Union Service, Inc., an entirely independent concern: not a single owner of the Trade Union Service, Inc., is a member of the UERMWA. Among the owners are Corliss Lamont, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and James Waterman Wise—all of whom have extremely long records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations.

Last Saturday, Attorney General Clark caused to be published a revised list of subversive organizations. This newest list included the People's Radio Foundation. When the People's Radio Foundation applied to the Federal Communications Commission 2 years ago for an FM broadcasting license, it listed its stockholders. It was then revealed that district 4 of the UERMWA is the largest single stockholder in this subversive Communist enterprise. Next in order of their stockholdings in the People's Radio Foundation are the Communist Party auxiliary, the International Workers Order; the Russky Golos Publishing Corp.

which publishes a Communist Party newspaper in the Russian language; and the Communist-controlled International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Although it is a Communist-controlled union, the UERMWA does not adhere to class-struggle practices in all of its contractual relations with business concerns. One exception is the Electronics Manufacturers Association.

The secretary-treasurer of the Electronics Manufacturers Association is none other than Samuel J. Novick, its founder and most influential member. Novick heads a concern known as the Electronic Corp. of America.

The UE News of July 31, 1948, has a picture of a smiling group of men signing a contract between UE Local 430 and the Electronics Manufacturers Association. There are no expressions of class struggle on their faces.

The Communist Party's Sunday newspaper, the Worker, devoted more than two pages of its issue of December 10, 1944, to a highly eulogistic article on Samuel J. Novick and his Electronic Corp. of America. The article says: "The CIO-UE considers ECA's labor-management committee as a model." This is characteristic of the praise which both the UERMWA and the Daily Worker have meted out to Samuel J. Novick.

The Communist Party newspaper then makes the astonishing statement about the ECA (Electronic Corp. of America): "ECA is making money producing radios and scientific electronic gadgets, most of them of secret nature, for the United States armed forces." When it is remembered that this was written during the war, the question naturally arises: How did the Communist Party know about Novick's secret scientific gadgets in wartime and why? The Committee on Un-American Activities has just reported as follows: "During the war, Electronic Corp. of America performed secret Government contracts in the amount of some \$6,000,000. For a time it was the only contractor engaged in producing certain highly secret items for use in radar installations."

It is not hard to guess how the Communist Party knew about Novick's secret items for use in radar installations while the war was still on. Novick's public relations director was Carl A. Bristel, who was business manager of the Communist Party's New Masses under the name of Sol Becker, in 1942. Furthermore, the UE leaders who negotiated labor contracts with Novick and praise him so highly are Anthony Salese, president of UE Local 430; and Al Stearn, business manager of the same local. Both Salese and Stearn have been positively identified as members of the Communist Party. In other words, all of Novick's employees are under the control, in their union activities, of two members of the Communist Party.

Since Novick himself is something of a veteran Communist fellow traveler, it would appear that UE Local 430 is a "company union" so far as its relations with Novick are concerned. Novick was one of the original sponsors of the People's Radio Foundation which Attorney General Clark says is subversive and in which UERMWA District 4 is the largest stockholder. Novick was also a sponsor of the National Negro Congress and of an auxiliary of the International Labor Defense, both of which the Attorney General listed as subversive last Saturday. Furthermore, Novick has been a member of the board of directors of the Communist-controlled American-Russian Institute whose executive director is Henry Collins, Jr., who was named recently as a member of the Communist underground cell in Washington, D. C. Novick has also been affiliated with the Ambijan Committee for Emergency Aid to the Soviet Union. In view of all the facts, including his false statement which facilitated the entrance of a Soviet spy, Arthur Adams, into the United States, it is pertinent to ask if Novick drew any line anywhere on the type of "emergency aid" which he was prepared to render to the Soviet Union. Novick was treasurer of the Communist-controlled American Committee for Spanish Freedom.

Novick's relations with the Communist leaders of the UERMWA raises the question of the possibilities of easy espionage in such a situation.

When we come to the matter of individual UE leaders, we find that the records show that several hundreds of these leaders are members of the Communist Party or have had significant affiliations with subversive Communist-front organizations. I shall take up 100 cases of individual leaders.

Pat Amato, president, UE Local 1150, Chicago, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Pat Amato sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star, weekly Communist Party newspaper published in Chicago whose name was changed to the Illinois Standard in September 1948. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

Amato was a member of the Chicago Star subscription of Local 1150, thus indicating his more than casual interest in the circulation of this Communist Party newspaper. (See Chicago Star, March 20, 1948.)

Amato signed the manifesto defending the Communist Party which was published under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress in May 1947. (See The Worker, May 25, 1947.) The Civil Rights Congress is on Attorney General Clark's list of subversive organizations. It was formed in 1946 by a merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both of which have been officially cited as subversive by many Government agencies.

R. W. Bergstrom, business agcnt, UE Local 1139, Minneapolis, delegate to 1948 UE convention

R. W. Bergstrom was one of the numerous CIO leaders who were affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, January 25, 1942.)

The Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder was a strictly Communist Party affair. Its executive secretary was the well-known Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Miss Flynn is not only a member of the national committee of the Communist Party but also a columnist for the Daily Worker. Louis Weinstock, administrative secretary of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder, is now a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

Bergstrom was also a member of the Minnesota State Committee To Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, November 8, 1941.)

Bergstrom was also affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Bergstrom signed a statement denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

John T. Bernard, UE political action director, district 11, Chicago, UE field organizer

John T. Bernard, former Member of the House of Representatives, long ago acquired a reputation as a Communist. A mere listing of his affiliations is sufficient to confirm the accuracy of the charge that he has been an effective agent of the Communist Party.

He has been an instructor in the Abraham Lincoln School, the Communist Party's training school in Chicago which Attorney General Clark has listed as subversive.

He has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations and enterprises:

- American Committee for Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners.
- American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- American League for Peace and Democracy.
- American League Against War and Fascism.
- American Peace Mobilization.
- American Relief Ship for Spain.
- American Writers Congress.
- Ben Leider Memorial Fund.
- Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges.
- Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
- Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America.
- Council of U. S. Veterans.
- Daily Worker.
- Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
- Howard University Student Strike.
- Illinois People's Conference for Legislative Action.
- International Labor Defense.
- International Workers Order.
- Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.
- Motion Picture Artists Committee.
- National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
- New Masses.
- Open Letter Protesting the Ban on Communists in the American Civil Liberties Union.
- United American-Spanish Aid Committee.
- Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
- Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy.
- Workers Alliance.

Neil Brant, UE international representative

The New York Times of December 8, 1945, reported that Neil Brant was the spokesman for 30,000 employees of the General Motors Corp. in rejecting an offer by GM of 13½-cent-an-hour increase in wages for these employees in its plants in four cities. It is apparent that Brant's position in the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America is a key one.

On February 14, 1941, Neil Brant was arrested and charged with "defiling the United States flag" in the State of New Jersey. His police description attached to the record of his arrest reads as follows:

"White, male, 37, 5 feet 6 inches, 145 pounds, gray eyes, dark brown gray hair, slim build, sallow complexion, small mustache; occupation, labor organizer; birthplace, Russia."

It will be noted, of course, that Brant's arrest for defiling the United States flag occurred during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact when the American Peace Mobilization was engaged in its Nation-wide seditious activities and when the Communist Party of the United States was lending every possible aid to Hitler by obstructing the Nation's military preparedness program. Brant's attitude toward the United States flag during that period accurately reflected the Communist Party's views as they have been expressed throughout most of the party's 25-year history in this country. For example, when William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was a witness before a committee of Congress, he was asked the following question:

"Do you owe allegiance to the American flag; does the Communist Party owe allegiance to the American flag?"

After some sparring, Foster replied:

"And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them."

In the Daily Worker of July 14, 1936, there appears the following question: "Should Communists salute the American flag?" And the Daily Worker answered: "Our flag is the red flag of the international working class." Also, when one of the leading members of the Communist Party returned from the Soviet Union, he engaged in a demonstration, during which he clashed with the local police, and the Communist's own account of his words was published in the Daily Worker, as follows:

"I told the police to hell with the U. S. A. flag. I said that the flag I claimed was the one with the hammer and sickle, the red flag, which we will have some day."

On December 15, 1940, the New Jersey State Industrial Council had before it a resolution which read as follows:

"The council condemns the dictatorships and totalitarianism of nazism, communism, and fascism as inimical to the welfare of labor and destructive of our form of government."

Brant led the fight to delete "communism" from the resolution.

Neil Brant was a member of the executive board of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, one of the most influential of the Communist Party's fronts of recent years, and also an organization which Attorney General Clark named as subversive.

In 1937 the International Labor Defense set up a trade-union advisory committee, of which Neil Brant was a member (Labor Defender, October 1937, p. 18). The International Labor Defense, as almost everyone knows, was the legal arm of the Communist Party.

Neil Brant was an instructor in the Communist Party's Workers' School. (See school catalog, 1937.) It may be assumed that such an instructorship could be held only by a card-holding member of the Communist Party. In 1941 the Workers' School became the School for Democracy, and Neil Brant was a lecturer in that institution.

Brant was a participant in the April 6 peace rally, a Communist Party demonstration held at Madison Square Garden which was part of a Nation-wide movement leading up to the formation of the American Peace Mobilization. (See Daily Worker, Apr. 4, 1940.)

Brant was a speaker for the American Student Union, another Communist-front organization. (See Daily Worker, Dec. 26, 1941.)

Albert Casale, business agent, UE local 1225, New York

When Israel Amter, veteran leader of the Communist Party, ran for the governorship of New York on the Communist Party ticket, his fellow Communists organized the Labor Committee for Amter as a part of their campaign for votes.

Albert Casale was a member of the Labor Committee for Amter.

Since Amter has always been openly a member of the Communist Party and since his candidacy for the governorship of New York was openly a candidacy of the Communist Party, it must be assumed that the members of his campaign committee had fully apprised themselves of these facts, and were knowingly giving their support to the cause of communism in this instance.

Albert Casale is one of the many strategically placed officials of the UERMWA who have given their support to communism.

Casale was also affiliated with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See the *Worker*, January 25, 1942.)

Tony Cattonar, business agent, UE local 475, Brooklyn, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Tony Cattonar is a member of the Communist Party. He is also an alien, having been born in Italy.

Formerly, he went under the name of Carlo Andrea, and later Carlo di Andrea.

For a brief period, Cattonar was business manager of *L'Unita del Popolo*, the Communist Party newspaper which is published in the Italian language in this country.

Cattonar is the son-in-law of the veteran Communist Party leader, Israel Amter. It may be noted, parenthetically, that Amter and his wife, Sadie Van Veen, were prominent in the early organization days of the UERMWA, particularly in Schenectady.

David Davis, business agent, local 155, Philadelphia, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

David Davis is one of the UE leaders who openly acknowledges his membership in the Communist Party. He is a member of its national committee, the highest governing body of the Communist Party in the United States. (See *Daily Worker*, July 30, 1945.)

Davis was also a member of the national committee of the now defunct Communist Political Association, and a member of the constitution committee at its founding convention in May 1944. (See *Proceedings of Communist Political Association*.)

Davis has also been affiliated with numerous Communist Party projects and front organizations.

He was a sponsor of the United May Day Conference in Philadelphia, a Communist-controlled affair in 1946. (See *Daily Worker*, April 4, 1946.)

In 1944, he shared the platform with William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party, at a Philadelphia celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*. (See the *Worker*, January 9, 1944.) He sent a personal message to this Communist Party paper, in which he said: "Today we observe with justifiable pride the twentieth anniversary of the *Daily Worker*."

Under the auspices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, he signed an appeal to Governor Olson on behalf of the California Communist leader, Sam Darcy. (See *Daily Worker*, December 19, 1940.) Attorney General Tom Clark has listed the NFCL as a subversive organization. Also under the auspices of the NFCL, Davis signed a message to the House of Representatives, calling for the end of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

He was the signer of a letter to President Roosevelt under the auspices of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, a Communist front whose objective was the release of Earl Browder from the Atlanta Federal prison where he was serving a 4-year term in connection with his conviction for passport fraud. (See *Daily Worker*, March 19, 1942.)

According to *Soviet Russia Today*, he sent greetings to the Soviet Union. (See November 1935 issue of magazine.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, he signed a manifesto in defense of the Communist Party. (See the *Worker*, May 25, 1947.) The Civil Rights Congress is also on Attorney General Clark's list of subversive organizations.

Anthony DeMaio, UE representative, district 11, Minneapolis, delegate to 1947 UE convention

The UE News, official organ of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, proudly announced that Anthony DeMaio was back from the war, and is now on the pay roll of the international office of the UERMWA, assigned to Minneapolis. He is a brother of Ernest DeMaio, president of UE district 11.

Anthony DeMaio of UERMWA was in another war several years ago. He was one of the big shots in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain. Witnesses who had been in Spain with Anthony DeMaio testified under oath to acts of extreme sadism committed by DeMaio against men who were trying to get out of Spain. At the same hearing, on April 12, 1940, there was sworn testimony that DeMaio was a "killer"; that he shot defenseless American boys down in cold blood. The whole sickening story of Anthony DeMaio may be found in detail in volume 13 of the hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. I, personally, conducted the questioning of DeMaio when he was on the witness stand before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

As to DeMaio's identity as a member of the Communist Party, the following questions and answers appear in the printed record of the above date:

"Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. DEMIAO. I was."

"Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Communist Party?"

"Mr. DEMIAO. I don't recall the exact date. It was when I returned from Spain."

"Mr. MATTHEWS. You did travel on a false passport when you went to Spain, didn't you, Mr. DeMaio?"

"Mr. DEMIAO. I still refuse (to answer)."

The UE News further proudly offers the interesting bit of information that while DeMaio, the alleged brutal killer in Spain, was wearing a uniform in Europe he was placed in charge of a camp of 700 women in Czechoslovakia by the United States Army.

In other words, in spite of the official sworn testimony as to the character of this man, known to the FBI, and easily accessible to the United States Army, he was accepted for service, and was placed in a position of trust and responsibility.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, DeMaio signed a statement denouncing the recent indictment of the 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

Ernest DeMaio, UE International vice president, president, UE district 11, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions.

Ernest DeMaio's Communist affiliations are such as to leave no doubt that he is a Communist and not just a casual supporter of one or two Communist enterprises.

He is on the board of directors of the Abraham Lincoln School, the Communist Party's training school in Chicago.

He was a sponsor of the seditious American Peace Mobilization.

Together with fellow officers of the UERMWA, DeMaio sent formal greetings to the American Slav Congress.

He was a sponsor of the Friends of the New Masses in Chicago. The New Masses was the weekly publication of the Communist Party.

DeMaio is a sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, 16 of whose national officers were convicted of contempt of Congress. He has spoken for the JAFRC in Chicago. (See Chicago Star, June 26, 1948.)

He was one of 144 Communist CIO leaders who publicly hailed the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in January 1944.

In the Daily Worker of May 19, 1947, Ernest DeMaio appeared as one of the signers of a manifesto issued under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress. He sponsored the 1947 conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

DeMaio is a member of the National Wallace for President Committee, and is president of the Illinois labor division of Wallace's Progressive Party. (See Chicago Star, May 8, 1948.)

Six of the organizations with which DeMaio has been affiliated are on Attorney General Clark's list of subversive Communist fronts.

Joseph Dermody, UE international representative, district 4

At the request of Edgar L. Warren, head of the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor, five leaders of the UERMWA went to Washington, D. C., on December 26, 1945, to confer with the Government representative on the UERMWA's negotiations with General Electric, Westinghouse, and General Motors. These five leaders were James Matles, Joseph Dermody, Edward Matthews, Neil Brant, and Nathan Spero. It is very significant that

four of these five leaders of the UERMWA (all but Spero) have substantial Communist records, a fact which amply attests the Communist leadership of this CIO union.

Joseph Dermody was a member of the Communist committee which was known as the Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights, a group whose avowed objective was to defend the Communist leaders in the fur industry. (See *Daily Worker*, November 11, 1940.)

Dermody was also a member of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party, a strictly Communist group which was set up for the purpose of capturing the ALP, an objective which was eventually achieved.

Dermody endorsed the American Youth Congress and urged all locals in UE district 4 to send delegates to it. (UE News, June 17, 1939.) Attorney General Clark has listed the AYC as subversive.

In his position as secretary of UE district 4, Dermody was a member of the New York Peace Committee for April 6. (See letter dated March 25, 1940.) This committee was a predecessor of the American Peace Mobilization.

Dermody protested to Gov. Herbert H. Lehman that there was a widespread movement to "intimidate" the Communist Party. (See *Daily Worker*, October 28, 1940.)

Thomas F. Dwyer, business agent, UE local 475, New York

Thomas F. Dwyer has made no secret of his membership in the Communist Party. In 1937, he was a candidate for the New York Assembly on the Communist Party ticket. In 1940 he ran for Congress on the Communist Party ticket. In 1941 he was the Communist candidate for sheriff of Kings County, N. Y.

Dwyer has spoken frequently at Communist Party meetings.

In the elections of 1945, Dwyer was a member of the Citizens Committee to Re-Elect Councilman Peter V. Cacchione. Cacchione, was, of course, a well-known leader of the Communist Party.

William B. Eleconin, UE international representative, Los Angeles, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

William B. Eleconin is the top leader of the UERMWA on west coast.

Eleconin is one of the numerous CIO leaders who were affiliated with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Eleconin was a speaker for the seditious American Peace Mobilization in Los Angeles.

According to the reports of the Tenney Committee, Eleconin has publicly defended the west-coast Communist Party newspaper, *People's Daily World*.

He has also publicly defended Communist Party deportees.

At the present time Eleconin is a trade-union sponsor of the Independent Progressive Party, the name by which the Wallace party goes in California.

Frank Emspak, for president, UE local 301, Schenectady

Frank Emspak is the brother of Julius Emspak and like him has been identified as a member of the Communist Party. He was recruited for the party in 1936 by Salvatore M. Vottis.

Julius Emspak, UE general secretary-treasurer, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Julius Emspak has been identified as "Comrade Juniper," top-labor union commissar of the Communist Party in the United States.

Emspak's only rival for complete power in the UERMWA is James Matles.

By any reasonable definition, Emspak is clearly a Communist. As editor of UE News, he has plugged the Communist Party "line" in all of its twists and turns.

Emspak has been affiliated with the following Communist-front organizations: American Peace Mobilization, member, National Council, folder.

American Relief Ship for Spain, sponsor, letterhead, September 3, 1938.

American Slav Congress, sent greetings, program, August 6, 1944.

Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, sponsor, letterhead, August 10, 1940.

Consumers Union of United States, Inc., member, Labor Advisory Committee, letterhead, September 28, 1939.

Emergency Peace Mobilization, sponsor, official program and call, August 31-September 2, 1940.

Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights, signer of telegram to President Roosevelt, *Daily Worker*, November 11, 1940, page 1.

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, sponsor, P.M., May 12, 1944, page 3.

Science and Society, contributor, *Science and Society*, winter, 1943, page 88.

Charles Fay, president, UE Local 475, vice president, UE district 4, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Charles Fay was a delegate to the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization which convened in New York City on April 6, 1941, and which was featured in the *Daily Worker* of May 2, 1941. It will be recalled that the APM was the notorious Communist-front organization which propagandized for the Communist Party "line" during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. It is hardly possible that any of those who participated in the activities and meetings of the APM were unaware of its completely Communist complexion.

Charles Fay signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder while he was in attendance, as a delegate, at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Fay signed a manifesto in defense of the Communist Party. (See the *Worker*, May 25, 1947.)

Henry Fiering, UE international representative, delegate to 1948 UE convention

In the *Daily Worker* of March 8, 1942, Fiering's name appeared, a signer of a statement released by the National Free Browder Congress.

In 1941, Fiering was a prominent leader of the Vincent Favorito Defense Committee. Favorito was a Communist Party member in Cleveland, Ohio, under a Government deportation order for illegal entrance into the United States.

On June 5, 1946, Ralph E. Moses and Ben H. Cromwell, president and secretary, respectively, of UE Local 801 in Dayton, Ohio, resigned their offices and charged that Henry Fiering was the Dayton leader of the Communist Party and that, as such, he held complete dictatorial control over local 801. The international office of the UERMWA named Arthur Garfield to take over the affairs of local 801. Fiering was shifted to Winston-Salem, N. C.

Fiering was one of 550 signers of a public manifesto issued by the Civil Rights Congress in defense of the Communist Party, for release on May 25, 1947.

Charles Fisher, negotiator, UE local 1145

Charles Fisher was a delegate to the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization which convened in New York City on April 6, 1941. The APM was the notorious Communist-front organization which propagandized for the Communist Party "line" during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

It is pertinent to note that one Morton Friedman was dismissed from his position on the War Manpower Commission on the ground that he had been affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization, and that Friedman's dismissal was upheld in the courts to which he appealed. In March 1947, the Supreme Court refused to review the decision of the lower courts in the Friedman case and thus, in effect, ruled that affiliation with this one Communist-front organization (the APM) was sufficient ground for challenging the loyalty of a Government employee. The same applies to labor-union leaders.

Charles Fisher signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder while he was in attendance, as a delegate, at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization. (See *Daily Worker*, May 2, 1941.)

In 1940, Fisher was affiliated with the Joint Committee for Trade-Union Rights, a Communist-front set-up to defend the Communist leaders in the fur industry. (See *Daily Worker*, November 11, 1940.)

He was also a sponsor of the Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation in the year 1940.

Albert J. Fitzgerald, UE general president, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

The consensus of opinion on Albert J. Fitzgerald among those who have studied the Communist Party leadership of the UERMWA is that he is a willing stooge for the Emplak-Matles Communist machine.

At the present time Fitzgerald is in the forefront of the Wallace third party movement, a movement which is now engaging the principal energies of the Communist Party.

Fitzgerald has been affiliated with the following Communist-front organizations:

American Slav Congress, sent greetings, program, August 6, 1944.
Greek American Council, signer of open letter on Greece, the Bulletin, January 1946, page 1.
National Citizens Political Action Committee, committee member, folder.
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, sponsor, PM, May 12, 1944, page 3.
National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, sponsor, news release, May 24, 1944.
National Wallace for President Committee, cochairman, news release, March 23, 1948.

Michael Fitzpatrick, former president, UE district 6, leader, UE local 601

Michael Fitzpatrick, brother of Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

While he was president of UE district 6, Michael Fitzpatrick signed a "peace proclamation" which was an enterprise of the Communist Party in the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and which was part of a Nation-wide Communist agitation leading up to the formation of the American Peace Mobilization. (See Daily Worker, January 3, 1940.)

Thomas Fitzpatrick, president, UE local 601, East Pittsburgh, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Last year at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council, CIO, there was "a bitter floor fight over communism." After this debate, it was voted to ban Communists, Fascists, Nazis, members of the Ku Klux Klan, and other hate-disseminating organizations from holding any of the 12 offices of the Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council.

Thomas Fitzpatrick led the fight against this ban on the totalitarians and the hate-mongers. His fight against the move was in the strictest conformity with the "line" of the Communist Party. (See New York Times, April 26, 1947.)

Fitzpatrick has not been a frequent joiner of Communist-front organizations, but he signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, May 25, 1947.)

There is sworn testimony given before the Committee on Un-American Activities that Thomas Fitzpatrick is a member of the Communist Party.

Thomas F. Flanagan, business agent, UE local 617, Sharon, Pa., delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Thomas Flanagan was a delegate to the 1947 national convention of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Cleveland, October 25-26. He was a member of the resolutions committee of the convention. (See proceedings of the 1947 convention of the ACPFB.) The ACPFB was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948.

Thomas Foley, UE field organizer, Minneapolis

Thomas Foley has been an open member of the Communist Party. In 1932, he ran for attorney general in Minnesota on the Communist Party ticket.

In 1944, Foley sent greetings to the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. He wrote: "Cordial greetings to the Daily Worker, a win-the-war labor paper and many more successful anniversaries." (See the Worker, January 9, 1944.)

James Garry, business manager, UE local 1227, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

James Garry has been seen going and coming at the national headquarters of the Communist Party.

In 1940, Garry presided over the youth session of the May Day Conference, which was in charge of planning the Communist Party's May Day parade. (See Daily Worker, April 21, 1940.)

On May 26, 1941, the National Labor Committee Against War, an affiliate of the seditious American Peace Mobilization, held a conference in New York City. James Garry was one of the labor union leaders who signed the call to this conference.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Garry signed a manifesto in defense of the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Garry is a member of a Communist-front organization which is known as the Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government, the object of which is to place Communist Simon W. Gerson on the New York City Council. (See New York Times, February 19, 1948.)

Leo Gaudreau, recording secretary, UE local 271, Beverly, Mass., delegate to 1947 UE convention

Leo Gaudreau publicly announced his membership in the Communist Party. The Daily Worker of March 28, 1943, printed a letter from Gaudreau which read in part as follows: "I am joining the Communist Party because I am convinced that it is a 100-percent win-the-war prolabor organization."

Carl Geiser, former president, UE local 1227, Long Island City

Carl Geiser is an avowed member of the Communist Party. He went to Spain to aid the Spanish Loyalists in the civil war in that country. He traveled on passport No. 380318, dated March 29, 1937, and gave his age as 28. Earl Browder testified under oath that 60 percent of the Americans who went to Spain to fight with the so-called Abraham Lincoln Brigade were members of the Communist Party. The 1938 New York Yearbook of the Young Communist League listed Geiser as one of its members who had fought in Spain. (See page 4.)

In the Daily Worker of December 5, 1946, Geiser signed a protest of the Queens County (New York) Communist Party against the refusal of Borough President Burke to grant the use of the Lost Battalion Hall for an election rally of the Communist Party.

In 1933, the Communists set up a front organization known as the American Committee for Struggle Against War. The executive director of this organization was Donald Henderson, an avowed member of the Communist Party. Carl Geiser was a member of the national committee of this organization. (See appendix IX of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, p. 409.)

Geiser was a member of the arrangements committee which set up the American League Against War and Fascism in September 1933. This was a Communist-front organization which the FBI, in an official memorandum of May 7, 1942, cited as subversive. The name of the organization was later changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. (See appendix IX, p. 428.)

Carl Geiser was a member of the national committee for the Student Congress Against War which was held at the University of Chicago, December 27-29, 1932. It was a part of the Communist-front movement which was launched at Amsterdam, Holland, in August 1932. (See appendix IX, p. 1620.)

After his return from Spain, Geiser became executive secretary of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a Communist-front organization. (See Daily Worker, July 21, 1939.)

Geiser was a speaker for the Sunnyside Peace Council, one of the many predecessors of the American Peace Mobilization. (See Daily Worker, April 18, 1940.)

Samuel Goldberg, business representative, UE local 134, Camden, N. J., delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Samuel Goldberg signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

In September 1948, the Civil Rights Congress took a statement to the White House, denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. Samuel Goldberg was one of the signers of this statement. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948.

Jack Gorelick, field organizer, UE district 1, Scranton, Pa.

Jack Gorelick is a member of the Communist Party. He is a protégé of Joseph Dougher, one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Pennsylvania, and a member of the national committee of the party. It was through Dougher's instrumentality that Gorelick received his appointment as a UE organizer.

Gorelick attends the Communist Party meetings which are held in Ukraine Hall, Scranton, and the executive committee meetings of the Communist Party which are held in the home of Joseph Dougher in Wilkes-Barre. In May 1946, he attended a Communist Party leadership training school in Scranton.

Last year, Gorelick negotiated a UE collective-bargaining contract with the Teleradio Engineering Corp. of Wilkes-Barre.

William Harper, chief steward, UE local 601, Pittsburgh, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

William Harper signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

In September 1948, the Civil Rights Congress took a statement to the White House, denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. William Harper was one of the signers of this statement. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948.

Clarence A. Hathaway, business agent, Local 1139, Minneapolis, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Clarence A. Hathaway was for many years editor of the Daily Worker. Evidence of how fearful that paper was, and is, of deviating from the correct Moscow line, is found in an exchange of cables between Hathaway, as editor, and RUNAG, the official Soviet press bureau, on April 16, 1939, via RCA-Communications.

RUNAG cables Hathaway as follows:

DAIWORK New York for Hathaway Stop Referring to your request Colon Nothing known here about your concrete question Paragraph USSR foreign policy clearly formulated in Stalins report on Eighteenth Party Congress as published SUNWORKER special supplement March 12 page 2 columns 3 and 4 RUNAG

DAIWORK is the cable address of the Daily Worker.

On October 10, 1940, a sensation was caused by Hathaway's expulsion from the Communist Party while still editor of the Daily Worker and a member of its "big three" central executive committee. His expulsion was for "failure to meet personal and political responsibilities assumed by him; for deserting; and for failing and refusing to take steps to rehabilitate himself."

Hathaway then dropped out of sight for more than a year, when he showed up in New York, to serve a 30-day workhouse sentence for criminal libel. After that time, he kept in the background of party affairs, although being seen at party demonstrations and in conversation with party leaders.

When he popped up, safe in the arms of the UERMWA as business agent, there was ample proof of his readmission to the Communist fold.

Hathaway was a member of the national board of the American League Against War and Fascism, and was prominent in a score of other Communist front organizations.

Fred Haug, business agent, UE Local 707, Cleveland, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions, former field organizer, UE district 6, Pittsburgh

Fred Haug has been a member of the Communist Party for many years.

Haug was one of the 550 signers of a public manifesto defending the Communist Party issued by the Civil Rights Congress for release on May 25, 1947.

On June 22-23, 1935, the Communist Party held a conference in Washington, D. C. The gathering was known as the National Emergency Conference Against the Government wage program. Five well-known Communist Party members were appointed as a "continuations committee" to carry on the work of this conference. One of the five was Fred Haug. The secretary of the "continuations committee" was Phil Frankfeld who has been a top leader of the Communist Party for about 20 years. (For the official Communist Party report on this conference, see appendix IX, pp. 1217-1221, of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.)

In the elections of 1936, Fred Haug was a candidate for "presidential elector" on the Communist Party ticket in the State of New Jersey. The record of Haug's candidacy is on file in the office of the Secretary of the State of New Jersey.

Haug has been one of the top leaders of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio, since he transferred his activities from New Jersey.

Haug was a signer of a Pittsburgh Peace Proclamation, a forerunner of the American Peace Mobilization. (See Daily Worker, January 3, 1940.)

Frank Hellman, UE Leader in Philadelphia

Frank Hellman is a member of the Communist Party and also an alien, having been born in Rumania. Early this year he was arrested for deportation.

In reporting Hellman's arrest, the UE News declared: "A wave of protest is sweeping UE locals all over the country against the Justice Department's deportation campaign against progressive labor leaders." Like all of the official

Communist Party publications, the UE News describes the arrested Communists as "progressive labor leaders." (See UE News, March 20, 1948.)

For many years, Frank Hellman was district organizer of the International Workers Order in Philadelphia. The IWO is an auxiliary of the Communist Party and has been cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

Hellman was a sponsor of the Tallentire Jubilee Committee, a Communist organization formed to celebrate one of the anniversaries of the veteran Communist Party leader, Norman Tallentire.

C. S. Jaekson, UE international vice president, president, UE district 5, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Clarence S. Jaekson is president of the Canadian district of the UERMWA, and by virtue of that position one of the UE international vice presidents.

Early in World War II, the Canadian Government interned Jackson as "a dangerous Communist."

Although Jackson was a delegate to the 1948 convention of the UERMWA, he did not attend. He was stopped at the border and denied entrance into the United States by our immigration authorities.

Leo Jandreau, UE international vice president, president, UE district 8, business agent, UE local 301, Schenectady, delegates to 1947 and 1948 conventions

Leo Jandreau has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Salvatore M. Vottis in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. Mr. Vottis testified that he had collected Jandreau's Communist Party dues for a period of 2 or 3 years. Vottis was also financial secretary of UE Local 301. According to Vottis, Leo Jandreau was signed up as a member of the Communist Party by Dorothy Loeb, a writer for the Communist Party's Daily Worker. (See hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 25, 1947, pp. 220-221.)

In January 1948, the Communists set up a front which was called the Citizens Legislative Conference of New York. The Communist character of this conference was fully exposed by Frederick Woltman in the New York World-Telegram. Leo Jandreau was a member of this Communist front organization. (See program, January 10, 1948.)

Leo Jandreau is a member of the National Wallace for President Committee, the outstanding Communist front movement of the present time. (See press release, March 23, 1948.)

Sam Kanter, organizer, UE Local 475

Sam Kanter is an avowed member of the Communist Party. Unlike many other members of the party, Kanter makes no secret of his membership.

Kanter was a speaker for the Communist Political Association, the organization which temporarily replaced the Communist Party from May 1944, to July 1945. (See Daily Worker, September 12, 1944.)

On January 22, 1946, Kanter was one of the featured speakers at a rally of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, N. Y. (See Daily Worker, January 20, 1946.) Headlined on this program with Kanter was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the two or three outstanding women Communists in America.

Fred Keller, field organizer, UE district 7, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Fred Keller testified under oath before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities that he went to Spain as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at the age of 23 and became a "commissar of war." Inasmuch as Earl Browder testified that 60 percent of the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were members of the Communist Party, there is a strong probability that Keller could not have risen to the rank of "commissar of war" unless he had been a member of the Communist Party. Two other UE officials, Anthony DeMaio and Carl Geiser, who also went to Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have admitted that they were members of the Communist Party.

When Keller returned from Spain, he became an official of the Communist-controlled Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (See vol. 13, p. 7780, hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.)

Keller was also a post commander of the Communist-controlled Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (See Daily Worker, April 21, 1940.)

Keller was a member of the board of directors of the New York branch of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948. (See organization's letter-head, January 2, 1941.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Keller signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.) The CRC is also on Attorney General Clark's latest list of subversive organizations.

John Kelliher, president, UE Local 1154, Chicago, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

John Kelliher signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Kelliher sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star, Communist Party newspaper in Chicago whose name was recently changed to the Illinois Standard. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

Alex Kempf, secretary-treasurer, UE Local 1119, Chicago, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Alex Kempf signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Kempf sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star, Communist Party newspaper in Chicago which is now known as the Illinois Standard. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

Morris Kerstein, member negotiating committee, UE Local 430, New York, N. Y., delegate to 1947 UE convention

UE Local 430 has collective bargaining relations with the employers association covering 15,000 employees in radio and radio parts establishments in New York City. Morris Kerstein is one of the important contract negotiators of this UE local.

Morris Kerstein has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony by James Conroy, former member of the party, before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

Robert Kirkwood, UE international representative, delegate to 1948 UE convention

Robert Kirkwood was a speaker at the Communist May Day parade in Chicago in 1941. According to the Daily Worker, one of the banners which was featured in the parade was "No Convoys, No AEF." This was in keeping with the line of the Communist Party in that period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Cospeakers at the parade were Alfred Wagenknecht, then Illinois State secretary of the Communist Party, and Ernest DeMaio, now president of UE district 11. Another slogan featured in the parade, according to the Daily Worker, was "Free Earl Browder." (See Daily Worker, May 4, 1941.)

Kirkwood signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Irving Krane, business manager, UE Local 1150, Chicago, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

There can be little, if any, doubt that Irving Krane is a member of the Communist Party.

For a number of years, Krane was Illinois State secretary of the International Labor Defense. The ILD was accurately described by the FBI as "the legal arm of the Communist Party," and it follows that any State secretary of the organization would undoubtedly be a member of the Communist Party. (See ILD letterhead, January 20, 1939.) Krane was a delegate to the national conference of the ILD in 1939 in Washington, D. C. (See Equal Justice, July 1939.) He was also a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense. (See letterhead, December 25, 1939.)

A number of years ago, the Communists organized a front which was known as the Better Chicago League. Irving Krane was one of its sponsors. (See Equal Justice, February 1939.)

Krane sent greetings to the Chicago Star, Communist Party newspaper, on May Day of 1947. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.) Furthermore, he is a member of the Chicago Star (now the Illinois Standard) subscription committee of UE Local 1150, thus indicating a more than casual interest in this Communist Party newspaper. (See Chicago Star, March 20, 1948.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Krane signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.) On September 25, 1948, Attorney General Clark listed the Civil Rights Congress as a subversive organization.

It is apparent that Irving Krane is one of the Communists in the UERMWA on whom the Communist Party calls for support of its enterprises and front organizations.

Joseph Kres, vice president, UE district 7, business agent, UE Local 735, Cleveland, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

According to UE News, Joseph Kres was named to lead CIO-PAC work in Ohio and Kentucky during the 1946 election campaign. He is now a member of the National Wallace for President Committee. (See press release, March 23, 1948.)

In January 1944, the Daily Worker, newspaper of the Communist Party, celebrated its twentieth anniversary. In two decades which ended that month, the Daily Worker had demonstrated a thousand times over that it was the quisling mouthpiece of the Kremlin in the United States. Despite this evident fact, 144 CIO leaders hailed the paper on its twentieth anniversary. Among them was Joseph Kres.

Kres signed a letter denouncing the Cleveland Press for publishing the names of Ohio signers of Communist Party election petitions. (See Daily Worker, September 19, 1940.)

During the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Kres denounced United States naval convoys, in keeping with the Communist Party's position on that question. (See Daily Worker, May 30, 1941.)

Kres was a sponsor of the Schappes Defense Committee, a Communist front organization set up to defend Morris U. Schappes who had been convicted for perjury. (See Daily Worker, October 13, 1941.)

Kres was a signer of the "six-point program" of the Council on African Affairs, a Communist front organization on Attorney General Clark's list of September 25, 1948. (See New Africa, October, 1945.)

Kres sent greetings to the 1945 national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, an organization also on the Attorney General's latest list of subversive groups. (See the Lamp, November 1945.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Kres signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Sam Kushner, business manager UE Local 1119, Chicago, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Sam Kushner's adherence to communism is evidenced by the fact that he sent greetings to the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in January 1944.

He also sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star, a Communist Party newspaper which changed its name to the Illinois Standard in September 1948. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.) He has contributed an article to the Chicago Star. (See issue of August 21, 1948.)

Kushner signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.) He is head of the labor committee of the Illinois Civil Rights Congress. (See Chicago Star, February 28, 1948.) The CRC was listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948.

Milo Lathrop, legislative representative, UE district 3

Milo Lathrop has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities. In this testimony, he was alleged to have been secretary of the Yale University unit of the Communist Party.

Several years ago, Lathrop was on the staff of Consumers Union with the designation of field representative. (See Consumer Reports, November 1942.) Consumers Union is the Communist front organization whose director is Arthur Kallet who used the Communist Party alias "Edward Adams."

Lathrop was a speaker for the League of Women Shoppers, a Communist front organization. (See New York Herald Tribune, September 28, 1941.)

James Lerner, staff writer, UE News

James Lerner's by line appears frequently in the UE News, official organ of the UERMWA.

Lerner joined the Young Communist League many years ago. He was a sponsor of the YCL-controlled American Committee for the International Student Congress Against War and Fascism. (See program, December 29, 1934.)

Lerner was a member of the national executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, a Communist-front organization cited as sub-

versive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948. (See organization's letterhead, August 22, 1935.) He was also a member of the secretarial staff of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Lerner was a member of the national council of the Communist-controlled American Youth Congress.

He was a staff member of Champion, official organ of the Young Communist League.

As a member of the YCL-controlled International Youth Commission, Lerner was a visitor to Spain during the civil war in that country.

Lerner was a delegate to the Communist-controlled World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar College in August 1938.

Richard Linsley, international representative, UE district 2

Richard Linsley's Communist connections are such as to make it reasonably clear that he is a Communist.

In July 1943, Linsley was a member of the Greater Boston Reception Committee to the Russian delegation.

Richard Linsley was a member of the Committee to Sponsor the Daily Worker and the Worker 1945 fund campaign. This connection alone would make it clear that Linsley is a Communist, by any reasonable definition of that word.

Linsley was also a member of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee whose announced purpose was the honoring of George Dimitroff, head of the Communist International.

Linsley is a member of the board of trustees of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, the Communist Party's training school in Boston.

In 1941, Linsley sent an Armistice Day message to President Roosevelt pledging "all production," thus reflecting the change in the Communist Party "line" which occurred on June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. (See Daily Worker, November 11, 1941.)

Stanley Loney, UE international vice president; president, UE district 6; delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Stanley Loney is a member of the National Wallace-for-President Committee, by far the outstanding Communist-front movement of the present time.

Early this year when Loney succeeded Thomas J. Fitzpatrick as president of UE district 6, the district council urged all its locals to give "serious thought" to the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace. The Communist Party is the most influential group in the Wallace-for-President movement, and the UERMWA is the largest single reservoir of votes for the Progressive Party.

Stanley Loney was a delegate to the 1947 national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the oldest Communist-front organization in the United States and one of the subversive organizations listed by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948. Loney was a member of the nominating committee of the 1947 conference of the ACPFB. (See Proceedings of the conference.)

Lee Lundgren, international representative, UE local 1150; delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Lee Lundgren sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star, Communist Party newspaper in Chicago. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

He is a member of the subscription committee of the Chicago Star (now the Illinois Standard) in UE local 1150. (See Chicago Star, March 20, 1948.)

James Lustig, UE representative, district 4, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

James Lustig is one of the most important of the many Communist Party members who hold strategic positions in the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. Lustig has not concealed his membership in the Communist Party, as have many others. In 1931, he was candidate for alderman in the Bronx on the Communist Party ticket.

In 1933, Lustig was organizer for the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. This union was one of the affiliates of the Trade Union Unity League, the federation of Communist unions in the days when the Communist Party maintained its own trade-union organizations. Lustig publicly endorsed the Communist Party program, and said "Only the Communist Party as the party of the working class represents the interests of the entire working population." (See Daily Worker, November 6, 1933.)

Lustig was a delegate to the eighth convention of the Communist Party in 1934, and his convention speech was published in the May-June issue of Party Organizer that year.

Lustig was one of the 144 CIO Communist leaders who hailed the Daily Worker on its twentieth anniversary in 1944. (See the Worker, January 9, 1944.)

Lustig was a sponsor of the seditious American Peace Mobilization, and its meeting of April 5, 1941.

He was also a sponsor of a Communist front organization which was known as the Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity.

He was a member of the Trade Union Committee to Elect Win-the-War Candidates, a Communist-front organization.

In October 1937, James Lustig and his fellow officers in what was then known as district 12 of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America urged all their affiliated locals to send delegates to the Pittsburgh congress of the American League Against War and Fascism.

In 1940, Lustig was a member of the Provisional May Day Committee, the Communist group which planned the party's May Day parade and other celebrations. (See Daily Worker, March 23, 1940.)

He was a participant in the Communist Party's April 6 peace rally in 1940. This was one of the Nation-wide affairs which led up to the formation of the American Peace Mobilization.

On the occasion of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lustig hailed the Soviet Union and joined in the Kremlin's cry for "a second front." (See Daily Worker, November 9, 1941.)

As a member of the national board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee Lustig has been convicted of contempt of Congress.

In 1947, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship called a joint conference against intervention in Greece and Turkey. Lustig was made a member of the continuation committee of the conference. (See Daily Worker, March 19, 1947.) Lustig's participation in this affair was simply one of an endless series of ways in which the leaders of the UERMWA have demonstrated their subservience to the foreign policy of the Kremlin.

Lustig has been a sponsor of the American Russian Institute, a Communist front which disseminates pro-Soviet propaganda.

Walter Mandra, recording secretary, UE Local 1119, Chicago

Walter Mandra sent May Day greetings to the Chicago Star (now renamed the Illinois Standard), the Communist Party newspaper of Chicago. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

Mandra signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party in May 1947. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.) The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948.

James E. Marino, field organizer, UE district 2

James E. Marino teaches at the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, the Communist Party's training school in Boston. This undoubtedly means that he is a member of the Communist Party.

Marino was affiliated with the seditious American Peace Mobilization which carried out the Communist Party "line" in the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. According to the Daily Worker (May 2, 1941), James E. Marino was a delegate to the convention of the American Peace Mobilization which was held in New York City on April 6, 1941.

While attending the convention of the American Peace Mobilization, Marino affiliated himself with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Marino was a speaker for the Massachusetts Peace Council, an affiliate of the American Peace Mobilization. (See Daily Worker, June 19, 1941.)

Lemuel Markland, UE international vice president, president, UE district 7, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Lemuel Markland is a member of the National Wallace for President Committee, the outstanding Communist front movement at the present time. (See press release, March 23, 1948.)

Markland signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

Sidney Mason, business manager, UE Local 475, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Sidney Mason's record discloses that he is one of the numerous Communists who occupy strategic leadership of the UERMWA.

According to the Daily Worker (June 6, 1946), Sidney Mason is a member of the executive committee of the American Jewish Labor Council. This council is not even thinly veiled as a Communist organization. The majority of its 15 members are well-known members of the Communist Party. With one exception, all of the others are well-known adherents of the Communist Party line in all matters. This single exception is M. Hedley Stone. For years Stone also followed the Communist Party line, but as treasurer of the National Maritime Union he has recently broken with the Communist Party leadership along with NMU's president, Joseph Curran.

Mason was a member of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. This committee was an auxiliary of the Communist Party, having the objective of securing the release of Earl Browder from the Atlanta Federal prison (see Daily Worker, December 28, 1941).

He was also a sponsor of the Committee for Jewish Writers and Artists. This committee was organized in the summer of 1943 to support the propaganda mission of two Soviet Government agents, Solomon Michoels and Itzik Feffer, who were sent to this country to counteract the adverse effect which the Soviet executions of Ehrlich and Alter, Polish Socialists, occasioned in the United States. The committee sponsored a meeting at the Polo Grounds on July 8, 1943.

Sidney Mason was one of the 144 CIO Communist leaders who publicly hailed the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in January 1944. The Daily Worker is the seditious newspaper of the Communist Party.

Mason was also a member of the executive committee of the Brooklyn Non-Partisan Legislative Conference, a Communist-front organization which convened in Brooklyn, N. Y., on February 27, 1944. The chairman of this organization was the pro-Communist clergyman, William Howard Melish. It numbered among the members of its executive committee well-known Communists such as Peter V. Cacchione, Leo J. Linder, and Arthur Osman.

Mason has been a sponsor of the American Russian Institute, a Communist-front propaganda agency.

Mason was a member of the resolutions committee of the 1947 Cleveland national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, an organization cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

Dave Mates, district representative, UE district 9, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

A number of the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who fought in Spain have obtained jobs with the UERMWA. Dave Mates is listed by the State Department as one of those who went to Spain during the civil war in that country. Earl Browder testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities that 60 percent of the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were members of the Communist Party.

Ashton Marshall, negotiator, UE Local 475

Ashton Marshall was a delegate to the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization which convened in New York City on April 6, 1941. It will be recalled that the APM was the notorious Communist-front organization which propagandized for the Communist Party line during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. It is hardly possible that any of those who participated in the activities and meetings of the APM were unaware of its completely Communist complexion (see Daily Worker, May 2, 1941).

Ashton Marshall signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder while he was in attendance, as a delegate, at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization.

William Mastriani, chief shop steward, UE Local 301, Schenectady, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

William Mastriani has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Salvatore M. Vottis in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives (see hearings, July 25, 1947, p. 221). Vottis was financial secretary of the Communist Party in Schenectady for a period of 9 years.

Mastriani signed the Communist Party's nominating petition in 1946.

The position of chief shop steward in local 301 of the UERMWA is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as this local represents some 13,000 members in the

highly important General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y. The evidence that William Mastriani, who holds this position, is a member of the Communist Party is overwhelming.

Matthew Matisson, field organizer, UE district 2

Matthew Irving Matisson went to Spain as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in 1937 at the age of 23. He was another of the members of this Communist-controlled outfit who graduated into the ranks of UE officials.

In keeping with the Communist Party line of the day, Matisson participated in a Boston demonstration demanding a second front in 1942 (see *Daily Worker*, May 7, 1942).

James Matles, UE Director of Organization

Since his retirement from the armed forces in October 1945, the power of James Matles in the UERMWA has grown by leaps and bounds. It is safe to say that neither Albert J. Fitzgerald nor Julius Einspak is a more dominant figure in the affairs of the UERMWA than James Matles. He was a key figure in the union prior to his entering the armed forces of this country.

James Matles, although still a young man, is an old-time Communist. At the age of 24 (in 1933), he had already attained prominence as a Communist leader in the trade-union field. At that time he was secretary of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. This latter union was an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League. In those days the Communist Party had its own federation of trade-unions known as the Trade Union Unity League which was headed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party.

According to the *Daily Worker* of November 6, 1933, James Matles publicly endorsed the program of the Communist Party.

The best evidence that Matles is a Communist is to be found in the following statement which he signed for release to the press: "Only the Communist Party as the party of the working class represents the interests of the entire working population * * *."

Matles and three of his fellow officers in the UERMWA sent greetings to the American Slav Congress in August 1944. The American Slav Congress is the principal Communist-front organization for persons of Slavic descent in the United States. It has been cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

Numerous former Communist Party members are able to identify Matles as a member of the party. He is still an alien, having been born in Hungary and never naturalized.

Edward Matthews, UE international representative, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Edward Matthews is international representative of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, in charge of that union's dealings with Westinghouse. That highly responsible position makes it clear that Matthews is one of the key figures in the UERMWA.

Matthews was a member of the National Labor Committee Against War, an affiliate of the seditious American Peace Mobilization.

New significance has been added to affiliation with the American Peace Mobilization by virtue of a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court. One Morton Friedman was dismissed from his Federal job with the War Manpower Commission because he had been affiliated with the APM. Friedman appealed his case to the courts, which sustained the Government. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which, in the middle of March 1947, refused to review it, thus, in effect, upholding the verdict of the lower courts.

Matthews has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before a congressional committee.

William Mauseth, field organizer, UE Local 1146, Minneapolis delegate to 1948 UE convention

William Mauseth is a self-declared member of the Communist Party (see *New Leader*, January 3, 1948).

Mauseth was a speaker for the Communist-controlled Civil Rights Committee in Minneapolis (see *Sunday Worker*, May 5, 1940).

He was a member of the Minnesota State Committee To Free Earl Browder (see *Daily Worker*, November 8, 1941).

He was also a signer of the nationally organized Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder (see *Sunday Worker*, January 25, 1942).

On the twentieth anniversary of the Daily Worker, Mauseth sent his greetings to that newspaper of the Communist Party (see the Worker, January 9, 1944). Mauseth wrote the Daily Worker, as follows: "Please accept my greetings and congratulations upon the twentieth anniversary of your service to the American labor movement. Yours for speedy victory over the enemies of the people."

Mauseth was 1 of the 550 signers of the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party (see the Worker, May 25, 1947).

Victoria Mazzie, field organizer, UE Local 1225, field organizer, UE Local 475

Victoria Mazzie is a member of the Communist Party. In 1940, she was described as a member of the Young Communist League in an article in the Daily Worker which told of a protest rally in front of the French consulate in New York. Speakers at this Communist Party demonstration included Robert Minor and Peter V. Cacchione (see Daily Worker, April 10, 1940).

Victoria Mazzie was also a candidate for Congress from Brooklyn on the Communist Party ticket (see Daily Worker, August 5, 1940).

Clifford T. McAvoy, UE international representative

Clifford T. McAvoy has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Salvatore M. Vottis in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives (see hearings, July 25, 1947).

McAvoy was ousted from his position as deputy welfare commissioner of New York City as a result of charges of communism against him.

McAvoy has long been known as a veteran Communist fellow traveler, even if not a member of the Communist Party. His affiliations with Communist-front organizations include the following:

- American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy.
- Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges.
- Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity.
- Committee for Citizenship Rights.
- Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor.
- Council for Pan American Democracy.
- National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
- National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
- New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- New York Conference on Inalienable Rights.
- New York State Conference on National Unity.
- Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union.
- Schappes Defense Committee.
- School for Democracy.
- Soviet Russia Today.
- Statement Defending the Communist Party.
- Statement Against United States Policy in Mexico.
- Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
- Win-the-Peace Conference.

Bernard J. McDonough, president, UE Local 1119, Chicago, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Bernard J. McDonough is unquestionably a member of the Communist Party. This conclusion is based on the fact that he is the president of the People's Publishing Association, the organization which published the Communist Party newspaper in Chicago, the Chicago Star (see Chicago Star, May 15, 1948).

McDonough is candidate for auditor in Illinois on the Progressive Party ticket, the party of Henry A. Wallace and the Communists (see Chicago Star, May 15, 1948).

McDonough signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party (see the Worker, May 25, 1947).

James McLeish, international UE vice president, president, UE district 4, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE convention

James McLeish's record of Communist affiliations is such as to mark him definitely as a Communist.

In May 1946, McLeish was a sponsor of a conference, held in Newark, N. J., for the purpose of raising funds for the Communist Party's newspaper, the Daily Worker. This affiliation alone is sufficient to indicate where McLeish's ideological sympathies lie. He was also a member of the Committee to Sponsor the Daily Worker and the Worker 1945 fund campaign. In January 1944, McLeish

was one of 144 CIO Communist leaders who publicly hailed the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary.

McLeish was a participant in the April 6 peace rally (1940) which was staged by the Communists as a part of a Nation-wide movement leading up to the formation of the seditious American Peace Mobilization. Always obedient to the line of the Communist Party, McLeish hailed the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution and joined the Kremlin's cry for "a second front." This latter position taken by McLeish was diametrically opposed to his position at the April 6 peace rally.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, McLeish signed a public manifesto in defense of the Communist Party (see the Worker, May 25, 1947). The Civil Rights Congress appears on Attorney General Clark's list of subversive organizations.

He was also affiliated with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. He was a member of the Citizens Nonpartisan Committee for the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the city council. Davis is a publicly avowed member and leader of the Communist Party.

McLeish was also affiliated with the Committee for Jewish Writers and Artists, a Communist-front organization which staged a pro-Soviet rally at the Polo Grounds, New York City, in 1943.

He was a sponsor of the End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee.

In December 1943, McLeish was a member of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee which was set up to honor Georgi Dimitrov, former head of the Communist International.

Wesley Mitchell, executive board member, UE district council 4, delegate to 1947 and 1948 conventions

Wesley Mitchell sent May Day greetings to the Daily Worker in 1946 when he was a member of the strike committee at the Phelps-Dodge plant at Elizabeth, N. J. (see Daily Worker, April 28, 1946).

Mitchell signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party (see the Worker, May 25, 1947).

Herbert Morais, UE research assistant, international office

The Rapp-Coudert committee of the New York State Legislature found in 1942 that Herbert Morais, then a member of the faculty of Brooklyn College, was a member of the Communist Party. As a result of his exposure by the Rapp-Coudert committee, Morais was forced out of his position in Brooklyn College. The committee found that Morais used the Communist Party alias "Richard Enmale." The name "Enmale" was derived from the first syllables of the names of Engels, Marx, and Lenin—the three founding fathers of the Communist movement.

Today, Herbert Morais is a member of the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science. This is the Communist Party's training school which is on Attorney General Clark's list of subversive organizations.

A few years ago, International Publishers brought out a volume of Jack Hardy which was entitled "The First American Revolution." Jack Hardy's real name is Dale Zysman. Under the latter name, he taught in the New York public schools until his membership in the Communist Party was highlighted by exposures of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives and later by the Rapp-Coudert committee of the New York State Legislature. The First American Revolution was a part of the Communist Party's program to rewrite American history according to the theories of communism. Herbert Morais, under the alias of Richard Enmale, wrote the preface to Jack Hardy's First American Revolution.

Herbert Morais was an editor of New Currents. New Currents was the organ of the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists. It was subsidized by the Sound View Foundation, repository of Communist Party funds. The Sound View Foundation was headed by three well-known Communists, Alfred Hirsch, Robert W. Dunn, and Joseph R. Brodsky. It dispensed funds to Communist enterprises only. For example on April 20, 1943, it made out a check to the Daily Worker for \$1,000.

Morais has written for the Communist Party's New Masses (see issue of June 11, 1946). He has been a contributing editor of the Communist quarterly, Science & Society, and contributed an article entitled "Marx and Engels on America" to the winter 1948 issue of that publication.

Morais' position in the UE organization is one of great strategic importance. He is assistant to James Matles.

Sylvia Muth, member executive board, UE Local 103, Camden, N. J., delegate to 1947 UE convention

Sylvia Muth was a delegate to the 1941 convention of the American Peace Mobilization and a signer of the petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, both of which organizations were notoriously controlled by the Communist Party (see *Daily Worker*, May 2, 1941).

Miss Muth is a member of the small Communist group which controls UE Local 103, the local of the UERMWA which has collective-bargaining relations with the very important Radio Corp. of America at Camden, N. J.

Tom Neill, business agent, UE Local 427, Hoboken, N. J., former executive secretary, UE national veterans committee

At the height of the Communist sabotage strikes in this country during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Tom Neill signed a statement defending the Communist Party which received a full-page spread in the *Daily Worker* (see *Daily Worker*, March 5, 1941).

Neill was one of the American delegates to the World Youth Conference held in London, October 31 to November 9, 1945. This gathering was under the complete domination of Communists from many countries. It set up a new Communist international called the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Neill signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party (see the *Worker*, May 25, 1947).

Russell Nixon, UE Washington legislative representative

As early as 1940, Russell Nixon appeared as one of the signers of a petition to Governor Olson of California, to free Sam Darcy. Darcy, whose real name is Dardeck, had been extradited by the State of California from Pennsylvania where he was State chairman of the Communist Party. Darcy was wanted in California for false registration as a voter in 1934. This petition was circulated and published by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. This latter organization was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark. The NFCL was subsequently merged, in the spring of 1946, with the International Labor Defense to form the Civil Rights Congress, also on Attorney General Clark's list.

Came the war, and it was the same old story. In spite of his obvious Communist connections, Nixon was given a commission in the Army. He was released from military service when wires were pulled for his appointment to an extremely important office, namely, that of American member of the German external-property commission, with the assent of the State Department. Although he was the American member of this commission, Nixon listened to his Moscow master's voice and fought furiously for Russian participation in the search for German assets in western Europe. When defeated on this Soviet-inspired front, he resigned with a blast against the State Department, charging, among other things, a plot against Russia. The State Department promptly abandoned diplomacy long enough to call Nixon a liar, in effect.

Immediately on his resignation from his post in Germany, Nixon resumed his job with the UERMWA in Washington, and again became active in Communist-front organizations. He was a member of the resolutions committee of the Win-the-Peace Conference held in Washington in April 1946. This was the conference where one of the principal Communist fronts of recent years was launched, namely, the National Committee To Win the Peace.

In February 1946, Nixon was the principal speaker at a mass meeting in Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the International Workers Order which the FBI has called one of the largest of the Communist-front organizations.

During the war, Nixon was a principal speaker for the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, etc. This, too, was an obvious front of the Communist Party.

Nixon was a speaker at the Communist May Day Rally in Philadelphia in 1946. One of his colleagues on the program was Louis Weinstock, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party (see the *Worker*, April 28, 1946).

He was a sponsor of a Communist front which called itself the National Conference on the German Problem (see official press release, March 6, 1947).

He was a speaker for the Civil Rights Congress, one of the organizations listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark (see *Daily Worker*, October 6, 1947).

He was affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, also branded as subversive by Attorney General Clark (see *Soviet Russia Today*, November 1947).

Nixon participated in the National Legislative Conference on Naturalization and Deportation which was held in Washington at the call of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (see the Lamp, January-February 1948).

He has contributed articles to the Communist magazine, Soviet Russia Today, issues of January, March, May, and June, 1948.

He was a speaker in Chicago for the Communist front which called itself the Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights (see Chicago Star, June 5, 1948).

Andrew Overgaard, business agent, UE Local 420

Andrew Overgaard has been a member of the Communist Party for many years.

In 1933, Overgaard publicly declared his support of the Communist Party program along with such UE leaders as James Matles and James Lustig (see Daily Worker, November 6, 1933).

In 1934, Overgaard was secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council, a Communist Party organization headed by William Z. Foster.

Overgaard supported the friends of the Soviet Union. He had gone to Moscow as a delegate to the Red International of labor unions.

Victor Pasche, leader, UE Local 301, Schenectady

Victor Pasche is a member of the editorial committee which publishes the Electrical Union News, official organ of local 301 at the General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y.

Pasche has been associated with Communist-front groups for a number of years. In 1940, he was a sponsor of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom when that Communist-front organization was agitating against the Rapp-Coudert investigation into communism in the State-supported schools of New York.

In 1938, considerable publicity centered on the issue of Simon W. Gerson's position as administrative assistant to the borough president of Manhattan. Victor Pasche was one of the Communists and fellow travelers who rushed to the defense of Gerson (see Daily Worker, February 10, 1938).

Henry Phillips, delegate to 1947 UE convention from UE Local 424

Henry Phillips attended a Communist Party training school for UE organizers in February 1938. At the conclusion of the course of study, Phillips and his fellow students (one of whom was Ruth Young) adopted a resolution calling for the building of a more powerful Communist Party looking toward a Communist revolution in the United States.

Ernst Pollock, business agent, UE Local 437, Newark, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Ernst Pollock signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See The Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Pollock also signed the Civil Rights Congress statement denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

On September 25, 1948, Attorney General Clark cited the Civil Rights Congress as a subversive organization.

Sol Potegal, business manager, UE Local 427, Bayonne, N. J.

Sol Potegal and his fellow officers of what was then known as District 12 of the United Electrical and Radio Workers endorsed the American League Against War and Fascism in a letter dated October 6, 1937.

Potegal was affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, March 16, 1942.)

Potegal sent greetings to the Daily Worker on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of that Communist Party newspaper. (See The Worker, January 9, 1944.)

James Price, UE international vice president, UE president, District 1, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

James Price is a member of the National Wallace-for-President Committee, the outstanding Communist-front movement at the present time. (See press release, March 23, 1948.)

Price sponsored the Communist-controlled United May Day Conference in Philadelphia in 1946. (See Daily Worker, April 4, 1946.)

Price signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Archie Rappaport, leader, UE District 4

Archie Rappaport was a student in a Communist Party training school for UE leaders in February 1938. At the conclusion of the course of study Rappaport and his fellow students adopted a resolution calling for a more powerful Communist Party and looking toward a Soviet America.

Rappaport was a delegate to the convention of the American Peace Mobilization in April 1941. At the meeting of this notorious Communist-controlled organization he signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See *Daily Worker*, May 2, 1941.)

Marie J. Reed, business agent, UE Local 735, Cleveland, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

At the height of the Communist sabotage strikes during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1941, Marie J. Reed signed a statement in defense of the Communist Party, a statement which received a full-page spread in the *Daily Worker*. (See *Daily Worker*, March 5, 1941.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Miss Reed signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See the *Worker*, May 25, 1947.)

Henry Rhine, UE international representative, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Henry Rhine works for the UERMWA in the eastern Pennsylvania region or UE District 1. He is a member of the Communist Party.

Late in 1933 Rhine was appointed a junior assistant in the NRA in Washington, D. C. For 6 years he was national organizer of the United Federal Workers of America, CIO. Since 1943 he has been working for the UERMWA in district 1.

Rhine has been a teacher at the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art, the Communist Party's training school in Philadelphia.

Rhine is prominent in UE negotiations with the important Radio Corp. of America.

Ben Riskin, UE international representative, delegate to 1948 UE convention

Ben Riskin has been a member of the Communist Party for many years. His party membership book, issued for the year 1943, was numbered 37414 and was made out to "R. Burns."

Riskin was the originator of the idea of the portal-to-portal suits.

In 1935 he was an associated editor of the *New Order*, official organ of the International Workers Order. The IWO is an auxiliary of the Communist Party. An official memorandum of the FBI, dated May 7, 1942, described the International Workers Order as "one of the strongest Communist organizations." The masthead of the *New Order* for April-May 1935, shows Ben Riskin as one of the magazine's associate editors. The table of contents given on this masthead indicates that Ben Riskin was the author of an article entitled "May 1, 1935." This issue of the *New Order* was a special May Day issue.

Excerpts from Riskin's article in the *New Order* read as follows:

"Over one-sixth of the earth has been established a workers' and farmers' land, rising with incredible speed to a state of real general security and comfort, crowned with an ever-growing richness of science and life.

"Like rats in a corner, the bosses with their backs against the wall resort to their last resort—war. They hope to distract the attention of the workers from them to 'foreign foes'—that is, to brother workers, gleefully hoping that the damned nuisances will end the problem of unemployment by killing one another off and make lots of profits for the bosses through munitions and high prices on necessities in the meantime.

"And thus we find our present problems already outlined. * * * They are the fight against imperialist war and thus for the defense of Soviet Russia and Soviet China, the only workers' and farmers' lands."

These quotations clearly reflect Riskin's Communist attitudes toward American industry and leave no doubt whatever that Riskin is a member of the Communist Party.

In 1937 Riskin was on the staff of *People's Press*, a Communist Party-line publication which was used as the official organ of the UERMWA.

Subsequently *People's Press* changed its name to *Trade Union Service, Inc.* The latter is now located at 17 Murray Street, New York, N. Y., and is the publisher of *UE News*, official weekly organ of the United Electrical, Radio, and

Machine Workers of America. Trade Union Service, Inc., is owned by a group of Communists and fellow travelers which includes Corliss Lamont and Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

Charles Rivers, executive secretary, UE District 3, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Witnesses are available who can testify of their own personal knowledge that Charles Rivers is a member of the Communist Party. Rivers was on the scene in Schenectady in the early days of the organization of UE Local 301 in that General Electric city.

Rivers and his fellow officers of the United Electrical and Radio Workers endorsed the American League Against War and Fascism in a letter dated October 6, 1937.

Rivers signed a petition of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. (See *Daily Worker*, November 15, 1941.)

Anthony Salese, president, Local 430, New York City, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Local 430 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO) is one of the most important locals in the whole UERMWA, having bargaining representation for 15,000 radio and radio-parts employees in New York City.

According to the *Daily Worker* of March 5, 1947, Anthony Salese (also known as Tony) was a member of the Provisional May Day Committee.

This committee had charge of all arrangements for the Communist Party's May day parade and celebrations in New York City. There was no secret whatever about this committee's being the instrument of the Communist Party.

It is clear from the personnel of the Provisional May Day Committee that it was the agent of the Communist Party. Most of the members of the committee are publicly avowed members of the Communist Party. The rest are Communist fellow travelers. Other radicals, such as Socialists, are conspicuous by their absence.

Among the more prominent members of the Communist Party who served with Salese on this committee were the following: Irving Potash, Jack Paley, Sam Burt, Revels Cayton, Albert Kahn, Lewis Weinstock (member of the national committee of the Communist Party), Rockwell Kent (president of the International Workers Order), Bonita Williams, Esther Letz, and Leon Wofsy.

Salese's membership on the Provisional May Day Committee clearly identifies him as a Communist. Whether he holds a Communist Party membership card or not is beside the point.

During the present year, Anthony Salese has served as a member of the Communist-front organization which bears the imposing title of Citizens Committee To Defend Representative Government. The objective of this front is to gain a seat on the New York City Council for Communist Simon W. Gerson.

In February of this year Salese was a sponsor of the National Youth Assembly Against Universal Military Training, a Communist-front organization set up to serve the ends of the Kremlin.

Marcel Scherer, UE representative, District 4 delegate to 1947 UE convention

Marcel Scherer is a veteran member of the Communist Party. His membership in the party is established conclusively by the fact that he ran for alderman on the Communist Party ticket in Brooklyn in 1931. (See *Dail Worker*, November 3, 1931.)

During the First World War, Scherer was dismissed from Erasmus Hall High School in New York for pacifist agitation. He was at that time an active member of the Young People's Socialist League. In 1919, he achieved notoriety as an agitator at the City College of New York.

On September 11, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow, former secretary of the Communist Party, testified under oath concerning Scherer, as follows: "Scherer has held all kinds of positions in the Communist Party. He has held various positions as a section organizer and has been assigned by the executive committee to all kinds of party work; he is one of the oldest and most trusted members of the Communist Party." On October 13, 1939, Maurice Malkin, a former member of the Communist Party, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities concerning Marcel Scherer, as follows: "The leader of that (FAECT) is Marcel Scherer, a charter member of the Communist Party; joined the Communist Party at Williamsburg branch, Brooklyn, 1919."

One of the most strategic assignments ever given Scherer by the Communist Party was the national secretaryship of the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Communist-front predecessor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The FSU maintained a special department for the sending of technological information, industrial and military, to the Soviet Union. This work has been carried on previously, beginning in 1921, by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, one of the very first Communist-front organizations in this country which was later merged into the FSU. The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia was set up in this country by A. A. Heller on specific instructions from Moscow. Its purpose was to cultivate and woo American scientists and technicians in the hope that they would provide Soviet Russia with our industrial, scientific, and military secrets and processes. Any information which they were willing to pass on to Russia was sent through the medium of Heller's organization, and later through Marcel Scherer's FSU.

After his work with the FSU, Scherer became one of the founders and international vice president of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (FAECT), an affiliate of the CIO which is now a division of the United Office and Professional Workers of America. The FAECT had many collective-bargaining contracts with the most important defense industries in the United States, including our Navy yards.

Today, Marcel Scherer, UE representative, is an instructor in two Communist Party training schools, the Jefferson School of Social Science and the George Washington Carver School. He has contributed articles to the Communist Party's New Masses, and he has been affiliated with the following Communist-front organizations: American Peace Mobilization, American Relief Ship for Spain, Campus Peace Strikes, Council for Pan-American Democracy, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, International Labor Defense, and North American Spanish Aid Committee.

(See also testimony of Paul Crouch regarding Marcel Scherer, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, May 24, 1949.)

William Sentner, UE international vice president, president UE District 8, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Although one of the highest officials in the UERMWA, William Sentner, has never been an electrical, a radio, or a machine worker. He studied architecture in Washington University in St. Louis, but never completed his studies. As an artist, he joined the John Reed Club, a Communist-front organization named after one of the founders of the American Communist Party, and became one of the club's national officers. He also spent some time at sea. In other words, Sentner owes his present strategic union post in a key industry to the operations of the Communist Party's patronage machine and not to any experience or special qualifications in this field of industry.

Sentner was classified as 1-A by his local draft board, but he was given deferment at the request of the UERMWA. Moreover, he was selected as a member of the National War Labor Board for Region No. 7 (Missouri) on February 17, 1943, and served in that capacity until his Communist record caught up with him and he was forced to resign on February 10, 1944.

It is unnecessary to prove by documentary evidence that William Sentner is a member of the Communist Party. He admits it. He is proud of it. He has held a number of official positions in the Communist Party since 1934. "When I joined [the Communist Party]," he declared in an interview published in Fortune magazine of November 1943, "I told everybody in town." He told Fortune that he still solicits new Communist Party members, although he devotes most of his time to union activities.

Sentner has been arrested on numerous occasions. In 1938, he was tried and found guilty of criminal syndicalism in connection with the Maytag strike at Newton, Iowa. He was sentenced to 10 years in jail and a fine of \$5,000. When the Iowa criminal syndicalism law was found unconstitutional, he was released.

At the present time, Sentner is on the National Wallace-for-President Committee.

Sentner has been affiliated with the following Communist-front organizations:

- American League for Peace and Democracy.
- Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.
- Civil Rights Congress.
- Committee to Sponsor the Daily Worker and the Worker 1945 Fund Campaign.
- Commonwealth College.
- International Labor Defense.

John Reed Club.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
National Wallace for President Committee.
New Theatre League.
Scottsboro Defense Committee.

Harold Simon, former president, UE Local 1227

Up until 2 years ago, Harold Simon was a leading Communist Party functionary in the UERMWA. The Communist Party then promoted him to position on the New York State secretariat of the Communist Party. While still holding his position as president of UE Local 1227, Simon was a publicly avowed member of the Communist Party.

Simon was a speaker at the founding convention of the Communist Political Association in May 1944.

He has been affiliated with the Greek-American Council, a Communist-front organization which has been renamed the American Council for a Democratic Greece. (See bulletin of the organization, January 1946.)

Adam Smith, vice president, UE Local 1119, Chicago

Adam Smith sent greetings to the Chicago Communist Party newspaper, the Chicago Star, for its May Day issue last year. (See Chicago Star, April 26, 1947.)

Smith signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See The Worker, May 25, 1947.)

Albert Smith, UE international representative, delegate to 1948 UE convention

Albert Smith was a signer of a statement in defense of the Communist Party which received a full-page spread at the height of the Communist sabotage strikes in the spring of 1941, during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. (See Daily Worker, March 5, 1941.)

In 1942 Smith joined with other pro-Soviet UE leaders in demanding a "second front." This was a subject of considerable Communist Party agitation at the time. (See Daily Worker, July 26, 1942.)

Smith signed a petition of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, January 25, 1942.)

Alice Smith, vice president, UE District 11, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Alice Smith is an instructor in the Abraham Lincoln School, the Communist Party's training school in Chicago, an institution listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

She signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, May 25, 1947.)

At the present time she is a member of the national committee of the Progressive Party, the party of Henry A. Wallace and the Communists. (See Chicago Star, July 31, 1948.)

Al Stearn, business agent, UE Local 430

Al Stearn was one of the 144 Communist leaders who publicly hailed the Daily Worker (Communist Party newspaper) on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in January 1944.

It scarcely needs to be said that anyone who sponsors the Communist Party's newspapers, the Daily Worker and the Worker, is actively supporting the cause of communism. It makes little or no difference whether such a sponsor is a card-holding, dues-paying member of the Communist Party.

Stearn signed a statement of Jewish labor-union leaders defending the Soviet Government's execution of the Polish Socialist trade-unionists, Alter and Ehrlich. (See Daily Worker, March 25, 1943.)

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, Stearn signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See The Worker, May 25, 1947.)

It is significant that Al Stearn was named chairman of the New York Trade Union Committee for Wallace and Taylor. (See Chicago Star, March 13, 1948.)

Albert Stonkus, business agent, UE Local 475

Albert Stonkus was a member of the National Labor Committee Against War, an affiliate of the seditious American Peace Mobilization.

He was a member of the Committee for Jewish Writers and Artists, which defended the Soviet execution of the Polish trade-unionists, Alter and Ehrlich. (See Daily Worker, July 6, 1943.)

He was also one of the 144 Communist CIO leaders who publicly hailed the Daily Worker on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in January 1944.

He was a sponsor of the Consumers' National Federation, an organization described as a "transmission belt" by Earl Browder.

The Communist-front affiliations of Albert Stonkus go back more than a decade. He was a delegate to the American League Against War and Fascism, a front cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark last Saturday. (See Daily Worker, August 7, 1947.)

Victor Teich, shop chairman, UE Local 1227

Victor Teich was a member of the American Student Union's national executive committee, a Communist-front organization which operated in schools and colleges from coast to coast.

Teich publicly declared his support of Israel Amter for Governor of New York in 1942. Amter was the candidate of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, October 27, 1942.)

Ernest Thompson, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Ernest Thompson signed a manifesto of Negro leaders against outlawing the Communist Party. All of the signers were persons of substantial Communist-front records. (See press release, April 21, 1947.)

Thompson teaches at the George Washington Carver School, Communist Party training school in Harlem which Attorney General Clark has listed as subversive.

Thompson is a sponsor of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, also listed as subversive by the Attorney General. (See letterhead, October 11, 1943.)

He has written for the Communist Party's New Masses. (See New Masses, August 7, 1945.)

He was a sponsor of the Win-the-Peace Conference, a Communist-controlled gathering held in Washington, D. C., in April 1946.

He was a delegate to the Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity, another Communist-front organization.

He signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, March 16, 1942.)

He signed the Civil Rights Congress statement denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See Daily Worker, September 23, 1948.)

He is a sponsor of the newest Communist-front organization for Negroes, known as the First Line of defense. (See the Worker, August 29, 1948.)

Nicholas Tomasetti, UE field organizer, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Nicholas Tomasetti was a signer of a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, a Communist-front organization.

Tomasetti was a sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization. (See program, April 5, 1941.)

Tomasetti signed a statement in defense of the Communist Party at the height of the Communist sabotage strikes during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. (See Daily Worker, March 5, 1941.)

Tomasetti was also affiliated with the Schappes Defense Committee. (See New York Times, October 9, 1944.) Morris Schappes was a Communist Party professor at New York University who had been convicted for perjury.

Jeffrey Van Clicf, negotiator, UE Local 430, New York, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Jeffrey Van Clicf has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony by James Conroy before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

UE Local 430 has bargaining relations with radio and radio-parts manufacturers covering 15,000 employees in New York City.

Philip Van Gelder, UE international representative, delegate to 1947 UE convention

Philip Van Gelder was one of the founders of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (CIO). He was its secretary-treasurer until he was inducted into the armed services. When he came out of the Army, his old union defeated him for reelection to his former position in a bitter fight over the issues of communism. Van Gelder was thereupon promptly taken to the arms of the UERMWA as an international representative.

Van Gelder was a member of the Communist-controlled National Mooney Council of Action. (See *Daily Worker*, May 12, 1933.)

Van Gelder is a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. (See letterhead, May 4, 1948.)

He was a sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. (See survey of work, March 11, 1942.)

He signed the Civil Rights Congress manifesto defending the Communist Party. (See *The Worker*, May 25, 1947.)

He also signed the Civil Rights Congress statement denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national leaders of the Communist Party. (See *Daily Worker*, September 23, 1948.)

Edward Washington, president, Local 1227, New York City, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Local 1227 of the UERMWA claims 3,500 members with contracts in 52 plants in Queens, Manhattan, and Brooklyn.

From a report in the *Daily Worker*, it is learned that Edward Washington got his job as a milling-machine operator largely through the efforts of the Negro Labor Victory Committee. This committee is a notorious Communist-front organization. (See *Daily Worker*, December 3, 1946.) It is also apparent that Washington rates very favorable publicity in the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*. This kind of publicity is usually reserved for the faithful members of the Communist Party.

Edward Washington is a member of the executive board of UE District Council Four. He was also a delegate to the 1947 UE convention and in that capacity, according to the *Daily Worker*, "helped rout the red-baiters * * *." The *Daily Worker* also stated that Washington was "proud that 'in our own UE' those who sought to 'discredit Communist unionists' had been defeated." This is sufficient to indicate quite clearly that Edward Washington is wholly on the side of the Communists.

According to the *Daily Worker* of March 5, 1947, Edward Washington was a member of the Provisional May Day Committee of 1947. This was the committee which made all preparations for the Communist Party's May Day parade and celebrations. Among the well-known Communist Party members on this committee were the following: Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock (member of the national committee of the Communist Party), Nicholas Carnes, Rockwell Kent, Howard Fast, Joseph Winogradsky, Audley Moore, Bonita Williams, Leon Wofsy, and Samuel Patterson.

Local 1227 of the UERMWA and its officials have long been identified with the Communist Party. In fact, this local has been one of the most notoriously Communist-controlled units of the UERMWA. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should elect a man with Edward Washington's Communist record as its president.

The *Daily Worker*'s reference to Washington as a "church leader" was just so much typical Communist double-talk.

Under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist front on Attorney General Clark's list of subversives, Edward Washington signed a manifesto in defense of the Communist Party. (See *The Worker*, May 25, 1947.)

All of the foregoing constitutes cumulative evidence which leaves no doubt that Edward Washington is a Communist.

Robert Whisart, member, UE General Executive Board, secretary-treasurer, UE District 11

Robert Whisart was affiliated with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See *Sunday Worker*, January 25, 1942.)

Whisart sent greetings to the *Daily Worker* on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. (See *The Worker*, January 9, 1944.)

Whisart was a signer of a petition of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in January 1943.

Tom Wright, managing editor, UE News

Tom Wright was a delegate to the convention of the American Peace Mobilization in April 1941. (See *Daily Worker*, May 2, 1941.)

At the convention of the APM, Wright signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Jack Young, secretary-treasurer, UE Local 1143, Minneapolis

Jack Young was a member of the Minnesota State Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See Daily Worker, November 8, 1941.)

Young also signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. (See Sunday Worker, January 25, 1942.)

Young signed a petition of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in January 1943.

Ruth Young, executive secretary, UE District 4, member, UE general executive board, delegate to 1947 and 1948 UE conventions

Ruth Young's married name is Mrs. Irving C. Veison, and, as such, she is a member of the New York State committee of the Communist Party. She occupies one of the most strategic positions in the UERMWA. Miss Young has been an avowed member of the Communist Party for many years.

Her Communist-front affiliations include the following:

(1) American Youth Congress—member of presiding committee of the New York State Model Legislature of Youth, January 28-30, 1933.

(2) Civil Rights Congress—signer of manifesto. (See The Worker, May 25, 1947.)

(3) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor—sponsor.

(4) Committee to Sponsor the Daily Worker and the Worker 1945 Fund Campaign—member.

(5) Congress of American Women—vice chairman. (See The Worker, June 23, 1946.)

(6) International Women's Day—signer of greetings to the Soviet Union. (See Sunday Worker, March 8, 1942.)

(7) Jefferson School of Social Science—member of the board of trustees.

(8) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of the Committee of Women. (See Daily Worker, February 10, 1944.)

(9) National Wallace-for-President Committee—member. (See press release, March 23, 1948.)

(10) Schappes Defense Committee—sponsor. (See Daily Worker, October 18, 1941.)

(11) School for Democracy—lecturer. (See Daily Worker, January 21, 1942.)

(12) World Youth Congress—delegate.

Ruth Young was one of the speakers at the CIO Political Action Committee's New York conference of January 14-15, 1944. In February 1938, she signed a manifesto of the Young Communist League which read, in part, as follows: "Forward to build a strong and powerful Communist Party! Forward to the American October!"

The reference to "October" is to the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia. When Ruth Young was confronted at the 1941 convention of her union with the fact that she had signed this manifesto, she made no denial.

Perez Zagorin, UE international field organizer

There is overwhelming evidence that Perez Zagorin is a Communist.

Zagorin is an instructor in the Jefferson School of Social Science, the Communist Party's training school for Communist organizers, propagandists, and agitators.

Zagorin was affiliated with the Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side. This was a Communist-front organization which received extraordinary publicity in the Daily Worker. This committee was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on September 25, 1948. (See Daily Worker, July 4, 1943.)

He is also affiliated with the Communist-front organization which is known as the People's Radio Foundation, also listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Communist Party's Daily Worker, Perez Zagorin was one of a large group of Communist leaders in the CIO who publicly hailed that seditious newspaper.

In December 1943, a Communist-front organization was set up to honor the former head of the Communist International, Georgi Dimitrov. Perez Zagorin was a member of this committee which was known as the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. (See New York Times, December 22, 1943.)

Zagorin has written for the Communist quarterly magazine, Science and Society. (See issues of summer 1945 and spring 1948.)

Jack S. Zucker, UE organizer, District I, Baltimore

For a number of years, Jack Zucker was national legislative representative of the United Shoe Workers of America (CIO), with headquarters in Washington, D. C. Both of the CIO unions, with which Zucker had been connected, are among the most clearly Communist-dominated in the entire CIO.

For many years, Zucker has been known as a Communist. His public affiliations give substantial support to his reputation as a Communist. He has been affiliated with the following Communist-front organizations:

- American Peace Mobilization.
- Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.
- Civil Rights Congress.
- National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
- National Negro Congress.
- Washington CIO Committee to Reinstate Helen Miller.
- Washington Peace Mobilization.

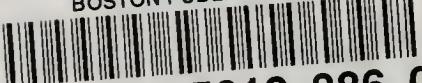
Zucker was an active delegate to the American Peace Mobilization in New York, April 5, 1941. This fact was established in sworn testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives on May 21, 1941. This testimony established the fact that Zucker was a member of a "lobby committee" from Washington, D. C., at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization in New York City.

At the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization, Zucker signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. This petition and its list of signers were published in the *Daily Worker* of May 2, 1941.

In May 1947, Zucker signed a manifesto defending the Communist Party, under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress. (See *The Worker*, May 25, 1947.) Last week, he was a member of a nine-man delegation to the White House, bearing a statement denouncing the recent indictment of 12 national Communist Party leaders. The statement was reported to have been signed by 1,100 labor union leaders, and was issued under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark. (See *Daily Worker*, September 23, 1948.)

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